Shaftesbury. (10)

Miſcellanea.

THE FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

I. *A Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the* Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France *and* Flanders; *with their Relation to* England, *in the Year* 1671.

II. *An Eſſay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*

III. *An Eſſay upon the Advancement of Trade in* Ireland.

IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in* October, 1673.

V. *Upon the Exceſſes of Grief.*

IV. *An Eſſay upon the Cure of the* GOUT *by* Moxa.

By Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* Bar.

The Fourth Edition.

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ADVERTISEMENT

OF THE

Stationer to the *Reader*,

THE *Author of theſe* ESSAYS *having heard, That ſince the firſt Publiſhing of them, as well as before, ſeveral Books that in the great Licenſe of Printing have come forth without Names, were either by miſtake, or otherwiſe, given out to be his; he has upon this Edition given me leave to ſet*

his Name to this, and at the ſame time to give this publick Aſſurance, That ſince the firſt Printing his OBSERVATIONS *upon the* United Provinces, *nothing of his has been publiſhed beſides theſe Papers, nor ſhall be at any time hereafter, without his Name.*

A SURVEY of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, *and* FLANDERS; *with their Relation to* ENGLAND *in the Year* 1671. *and then given to one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embaſſie at the* HAGUE.

THE Decay and Diſſolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding uſually from outward Blows and Accidents, as well as inward Diſtempers or Infirmities, it ſeems equally neceſſary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Conſtitutions, Forces, and Conjunctures among

their Neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours, and Intereſts of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdom take a juſt Meaſure of its Safety by its own Riches or Strength at home, without caſting up at the ſame time what Invaſions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That ſo advantageous a Situation as that of His Majeſty's Dominions in theſe Iſlands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any Foreign Conſideration leſs important to us, than to any other Nation; Becauſe the Numbers and Native Courage of our Men, with the Strength of our Shipping, have ſo many Ages paſt (and ſtill, for ought we yet know) made us a Match for the greateſt of our Neighbours at Land; and an Over-match for the ſtrongeſt of them at Sea: whereas whoever hurts us without our own Arms, muſt be able to maſter us in both theſe Elements. Yet in regard there are the Names of ſeveral Conqueſts remaining ſtill up

on Record (though all of them the meer Effects of our own Diviſions or Invitations;) when Trade is grown the Deſign of all Nations in *Europe*, that are poſſeſt of any Maritime Provinces, as being the only unexhauſted Mine, and out of whoſe Treaſures all Greatneſs at Sea naturally ariſes: When in ſtead of a King of *France* ſurrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own Poſſeſſions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; inſtead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who ſerved for no more, than like the ſmaller Weights to make the Balance ſometimes a little even in the greater Scales of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *German* Powers; We now behold in *France* the greateſt Land-forces that perhaps have ever been know under the Command of any Chriſtian Prince; And in the *United Provinces*, the greateſt numbers both of Ships and Mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the World; and which have hitherto been only awed by the ſtrength of our Oak, the Art of our Ship-wrights, and chiefly by the

invincible hearts of our Seamen. When the proſpect of theſe two Powers brings us to conſider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by Confederacy, or the Submiſſion of *Holland*, will prove the neareſt approach that was ever made to our ruine and ſervitude: It may perhaps import us in this Calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raiſing abroad, and by the beſt Perſpectives we can find, to diſcover from what Coaſt they break, what courſe they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the ſhelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be only a ſtrain of Generoſity and Humanity, or the beſt Proviſion we can make hereafter for our own Safety.

Thoſe Countries in whoſe Actions or Intereſts we have at any time concerned our ſelves, have been the *Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two ſeveral Bodies uſually diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good Wiſhes toward

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heir Defence againſt the *Turk*; Not with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Intereſt of Traffick; unleſs ſometimes ſome ſhort Negotiation that ſerved the preſent Turn to ſtop the aſpiring Growth of either the *French* or *Spaniſh* Greatneſs, in thoſe as well as nearer Parts.

THE Foreign Intereſts of the Empire are the Defence of the Eaſtern Parts againſt the *Turk*, and the Preſervation of the Weſtern Circles againſt the growth of *France*. The Domeſtick are the limited Conſtitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the ſeveral Free Princes and States of the Empire among themſelves. The two laſt have raiſed no Duſt ſince the Peace of *Munſter*; which ſeems chiefly occaſioned by the *Swede*'s coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the Share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. Theſe give him an immediate entrance into the Heart of *Germany*, where the Native Poverty of his own Country makes him conſider'd as ſtill upon the Wing,

and ready to ſtop at the firſt Quarry he can meet with upon any Diviſions in the Empire; ſo as there ſeems a general Reſolution not to furniſh him with ſuch Occaſions. Their Defence againſt the *Turk* will be provided and purſued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unleſs thoſe Princes of the Weſtern Circles ſhould at the ſame time be buſied in ſome nearer danger from *France*. But if the Grand Viſier be ſo great a Man as he is reputed in Politicks, as well as Arms, he will never conſent by an Invaſion of *Hungary*, to make way for the advance of the *French* Progreſs into the Empire, which a Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries* would make eaſie and obvious. And ſo great acceſſions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spaniſh* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himſelf, and greater than I ſuppoſe he deſires to ſee any in *Chriſtendom*. So that it ſeems not improbable, that the preſent Peace between the *Emperour* and the *Turk* may laſt longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Deſire

of thoſe who are moſt concerned in it.

In the preſervation of the Weſtern Circles (eſpecially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) againſt the Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs, the Diſpoſitions, if not Intereſts of the ſeveral Members of the Empire, ſeem much more divided. The Emperour himſelf is firm in reſolving it, becauſe he has nothing to fear ſo much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their Common Pretenſions to *Spain*, after the young King's Death, and a Jealouſie of the Empire it ſelf after a further courſe of Succeſs: But he will be faint in any execution of ſuch a Counſel, unleſs ſpirited by the unanimous Decrees of a General Dyet; from his own Diſpoſitions, which are thought rather Generous and Juſt, than Ambitious and Enterprizing; from the influence of the *Jeſuits* in that Court, who are obſerved to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spaniſh* in the laſt Age; from the fear of the *Turks*, who are ſtill like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; And from a jealouſie of *Sweden* joining abſolutely with *France*,

which might ſhare a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the Intereſts of the Emperor in this point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the Liberty of the Empire; foreſees, that if it ſhould fall into the *French* Hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the ſeveral Officers of his Court; as they were in the unlimited Greatneſs of ſome Ancient Emperours. Beſides, his diſtance from *France*, tho it does not inſtruct him to think wiſer than other Princes, yet it helps him to ſpeak boldlier what he thinks upon theſe Conjunctures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, and at leaſt two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Diſpoſitions and Judgments upon the ſame Intereſts: But will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whoſe ill Talent will be ſtill ſuſpected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the Differences in *Pruſſia*; and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late Diſappointment at *Bremen*.

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The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the ſame Inclinations; but lying at the mercy of *France*, in ſo near and ſo imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Meaſures wherein they may not ſee their own Safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater Reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Biſhop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon Remainders of the ancient Leagues with *France*, or Quarrels with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*: But as a wiſe Prince will be found generally in the true Intereſts of the Empire as far as the Seat of his Country will give him leave which in a War will be ſo much expoſed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been eſteemed wholly in the *French* Intereſts ſince the Treaty of *Munſter*; but by what Ties or Motives, has not fallen under my obſervation, in regard of the diſtance of his Country, and ſmall Commerce out of the Limits of the Empire.

The

The Elector of *Cologne* is a Perſon of much natural Goodneſs and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymiſtry have ſhared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*; a Man buſie, and always in motion or intrigue: But for the reſt, whether upon future Ambition, or preſent Advantages, eſteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Intereſts; ſo as whatever uſe can be made by *France* of that Elector's Name or Country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his Perſon and Mein, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and ſhould be ſo in his Diſpoſition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more Retired than the other Princes of his Country; Having never ſhewed any ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which Deſign helpt to inſpire him with great Compliance towards

towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill Offices in that Point. But the failing of it, was thought to have ſomething diſobliged him from *France* (upon whoſe Aſſiſtance he reckoned) and has ſunk him in a Debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* is made only conſiderable by his Situation, which lies the fitteſt of all others, to invade *Holland*: And by the Diſpoſitions of this Man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raiſe a Name in the World: An old implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their Intelligence with his chief Town of *Munſter*: Their Uſurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and ſome other ſmall Places in his Country: Their Protection of the Counteſs of *Bentheim*; and the Hopes of ſharing *Overyſſel* or *Friezland*, if ever their Spoils come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince ſoever is Enemy to them, and will furniſh him with Men or Money enough to appear in the Head of an Army againſt them.

The

The general Intereſt that the ſeveral Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the Eſteem of His Majeſty's Power, and the Veneration of His Name; which is ſo great amongſt them, that moſt of them are reſolved in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, to underſtand perfectly His Language, before they ſpeak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is eſteemed ſteady and wiſe, as their People warlike and numerous. The digeſtion of their Counſels is made in a Senate conſiſting of Forty Councellors, who are generally the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, in Office, Eſtates, or Abilities; and who have moſt of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are ſo in the preſent Militia; which makes their Counſels generally Warlike and Ambitious, tho' ſomething tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turned them, for ſome years ſince their laſt King's death, rather to make advantages by the Name and Reputation of their Alliances, than by the appearance of their Arms. But

f their King grows a Man, and of Mar-ial Thoughts, as may be preſaged from o great a Father, we may ſee great ctions and Revolutions grow again ut of this Northern Climate. For he Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and heir famous Succeſſes both in *Poland* nd *Germany* this laſt Age, inſpire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies nd Courages of their common Men, s well as the Prudence and Conduct f their great Officers, ſeem to have framed them for great Undertakings. Beſides, their application of late Years o Trade, has much increas'd their Ship-ing and Seamen (which they found o be their weak-ſide in their laſt At-empts). All theſe may in time make way for their great deſign, which is, he Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by he Conqueſt of *Denmark*. This was bout the Year 59, wreſted out of heir Hands by the *Dutch* Aſſiſtances, nd can hardly eſcape them, if ever hat Common-wealth ſhould be bro-en. And if they arrive once at this oint, there will grow a Power in that ough Climate which both at Land nd Sea may equal moſt others that

are

are now in *Chriſtendom*; by being Maſters of ſuch numbers of ſtrong and valiant Men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furniſh the World.

They have a nearer proſpect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the addition whereof to the Biſhoprick already in their poſſeſſion, they deſign to lay a great Foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer Parts of *Germany*.

Their next Intereſt ſeems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare: And then will bring them to a ſhare in the Game: And thoſe often go away with the greateſt, who bring in leaſt when the Stake begins. The Neglects of *France* ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and the late Courtſhip of *Spain*, ſeem to have left them open for the faireſt Offer from either of thoſe Crowns: But rather inclin'd to *Spain*, which has ſtill the ſureſt Fonds of Treaſure (if they could fall into good Method or Direction) and to whom they are more neceſſary than

than to *France*, which has out-grown almoſt all meaſures with their Neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* ſomething in ſhew, but more at heart; as lying croſs to their three deſigns; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquiſition of *Bremen*, and a War in the Upper or Lower *Germany*. And they are ſo Wiſe a State as to be found commonly in their Intereſt; which for theſe reaſons, is either an abſolute breaking; or a great weakening of that Common-wealth. Beſides, they eſteemed themſelves at leaſt neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Tripple Alliance, wherein they expected conſtant Subſides in the time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the defence of all thoſe Provinces againſt the threatning power of *France*.

An old friendſhip to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of Intereſts, beſides the neceſſity of keeping well with one of the greateſt Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectured) perſwade them to follow His Majeſty's meaſures the cloſeſt and furtheſt of any State in

Europe

Europe. This gave them the firſt Deſign of entring into the Tripple Alliance. And into the Commerce with *Spain* in the Year 68, and their Reſolution of keeping pace with His Majeſty in both theſe Points, as well as the Conſequences of them: Which they will do, unleſs the preſent Scene ſhould wholly change, and open new Counſels and Intereſts not yet thought of in the World.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* ſeems leſs conſiderable than their Neighbour-Crown, from a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People, and in their Government it ſelf; as well as a great inequality of number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the laſt change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary; has made it ſeem hitherto of leſs force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by force or Addreſs in an old Conſtitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Cuſtoms of the People, though they may in time prove an encreaſe of Strength and Great-

neſs

neſs (when fallen into Method, and grown eaſie by uſe); Yet for many years they muſt needs weaken it, by the diviſions and diſtractions of Mens minds, and diſcontents of their humours; and ſo turn the Counſels upon Deſigns within, deſiſting from any without; And advantages upon Enemies, muſt give way to thoſe upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of Government, and erecting a new, ſeems like cutting down an old Oak (becauſe the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin), and planting a young one in the room. 'Tis true the Son or Grandſon (if it proſpers) may enjoy the ſhade and the maſte; but the Planter, beſides the pleaſure of Imagination, has no other benefit to recompence the pains of Setting and Digging, the care of Watering and Pruning, the fears of every Storm and every Drought: and it is well, if he eſcapes a blow from the head of the old Tree, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The change in *Denmarke* was the eaſier, by having to deal with a ſoft, eaſie People, and with Nobles grown

to have ſmall power or intereſt amongſt them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Beſides that nothing ſeemed to concern Property in the change of Succeſſive for Elective. And the example of all Chriſtian Crowns (beſides that of *Poland*) made way for it: and yet it is certain that *Denmark* has continued ever ſince weak and unſpirited, bent only upon ſafety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown.) So as their great Intereſt is their defence againſt *Sweden*; And for the reſt, a general Peace, by which Traffique encreaſing they may come in for a ſhare, and ſe their Cuſtoms grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upo their ſupport from *Holland*, till ſeein them fall into cloſer meaſures with U and *Sweden*, upon the Tripple All ance, they have tacked ſome point nearer *France*; and the rather, becau of the unkindneſs grown in the la *Dutch* War, between us and the Yet they have it at heart, that *H land* has ever uſed them inſolentl if not ſcornfully, in the whole cou

their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the Differences between them about the Payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and reſolute in the defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* ſhall have Strength and Heart enough to attacque it; which ſeems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's time lookt upon as both the Terror and Defence of *Chriſtendom*; No Monarchy having ever graſped at ſo great an Empire there, and at the ſame time purſued an open War againſt ſo great Power as the *Turks*. This Greatneſs was grown up by the Union of the Houſes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*; By the ſucceſſion or Conqueſt of *Portugal*; By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines did freſh, as they did many years after their firſt Opening); By the number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raiſed and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles*

the Fifth; But chiefly by the uninterrupted Succeſſion of Three Great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Philip*. Which can never fail of raiſing a ſmall Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a ſmall. But whoever meaſures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fanſie a Man of Four ſcore by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'Tis like a great old Tree which has loſt its Branches and Leaves. *Et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram*. Though no Man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not ſpring, that with a little ſhelter at firſt, and good Seaſons, may in time prove a mighty Tree: for there ſeems ſtill to remain Strength and Sap in the Root to furniſh a fair growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. The decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a War with *Holland* (ſupported by all the Neighbours, who envied and feared the Greatneſs of *Spain*;) By the exhauſting in a great degree of the *Indian* Mines; By that of their Natives to furniſh the *Indian* Conqueſts and ſecure all their Provinces both

Italy and *Flanders*; But moſt of all, by two Succeſſions (which we may at leaſt call) of unactive Princes, and the want of any great Miniſtry to repair either them, or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unleſs this Crown out-grow its preſent Weakneſs, by ſome great Spirit riſing up at the Head of the Monarchy, who ſhall digeſt their Counſels, reform the laſt and impertinent Profuſions of their Treaſures, by ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary Penſions and Expences, and reſtore the Vigour of their Nation by Martial Deſigns and Examples; We may reckon the Intereſt of *Spain* to lie wholly in the Preſervation and Defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from Us. That of *Sicily* ſeems more remote, becauſe both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, and will not ſo generally alarm or unite the Chriſtian Princes, as the Invaſion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is ſo near concerned. The jealouſie of their *Indies* has been much nearer them ſince our poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*; And akes at

heart upon every Fit which the de-
ſperate Sallies of our Privateers there
bring upon them. But they hope to
make fair Weather in thoſe Seas, by
opening to us ſome Advantages of
Trade there, and by a Conjunction of
Intereſts in *Europe*, which they think
the Greatneſs of *France* makes as ne-
ceſſary to us, as to them.

Their Quarrel to *France* by a courſe
of almoſt continual Wars ever ſince
Charles the Fifth's time, by the late
Pretenſions to *Flanders*, ſet on Foot
by *France* ſince the death of their laſt
King, and purſued by the late Invaſion
(which the *Spaniards* pretend to have
been againſt all Faith, as well as Right)
ſeems to be grown wholly incurable,
though diſſembled by the ſenſe of
their own weakneſs, which makes them
rather willing to deceive themſelves
with a Peace that they know muſt
fail them, than break out into a War
they fear muſt ruine them, without
the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours.
And this they hope ſome breach of
the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* ſide,
or other Accidents, may at one time
or other engage for them. And though

they ſtand ſingle, their preſent in-
reſt is but bare Defence, and wear-
g out their King's Minority without
rther Loſſes; yet a greater Intereſt,
d far more at heart, is a War with
rance in Conjunction with the Trip-
e Alliance, or at leaſt with Us and
olland. For though the Peace holds
t while *France* continues ſo great
rces and deſigns on foot, the Pre-
rvation of *Flanders* will coſt *Spain*
o *m.* pounds a year, beſides the Re-
nues of the Country. And what
left them in thoſe Provinces, remains
lockt and interwoven with the laſt
ench Conqueſts, that upon the firſt
each of a War it is all indangered;
d indeed cannot be any ways ſecu-
d, but by a ſtrong Diverſion, which
ay imploy the greateſt part of the
ench Forces in ſome other Places.
heſe Regards and that of being hard-
uſed (as they conceive) by Us
d *Holland*, in the peace of *Aix*,
hich forced them to quit ſo much
their Country to *France*, and of
ir Money to *Sweden*, have raiſed
a Party in their Council, that would
ake and ſecure the beſt Peace they

can with *France* by a Ceſſion of *Flan-*
ders to that Crown in exchange for
other Provinces towards *Spain*, and
of ſome other Pretenſions. But this
will not be carried in a Minority of
their King; at leaſt without greater
fears of a ſudden Invaſion from *France*,
and greater Deſpairs of help from Us.
Becauſe whenever they quit *Flanders*,
they muſt be content to ſhut them-
ſelves up within their Mountains, and
ſignifie nothing more in the Affairs of
Europe. Nor could they perhaps long
be ſafe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if
they were there to ſuſtain all the
Forces of *France*, without the great
Diverſion they have always made by
Flanders; out of which, whenever they
are Maſters of the Field, they march
in four or five days up into the very
Iſle of *France*.

To compaſs theſe two Intereſts either of Defence or a War in Confe-
deracy, they would fain engage *Swe-*
den; but will endanger this Aim, by
the fear of venturing their Money be-
fore the Game begins. They reckon
themſelves ſure of *Holland* as far as
their Defence, but know, they will
never

ever be brought to begin a war with *France*. And the old Rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch*, are not yet enough worn out of the Diſpoſitions of the People or the Governments, to make room for ſuch an abſolute Turn. Their great hope is in *England*, where their Inclination carries them as well as their Intereſt. Beſides, they think our old as well as freſh quarrels with *France*, and the Jealouſie of their preſent growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other, ſo that their Meaſures will ever be fair with us; But no more towards preſerving their Peace, becauſe they think our Intereſt as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us ſo far, without other Motives. Though to head a War againſt *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our Paces: There is no Advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make us in Trade, nor Money they could ſpare from their own Neceſſities (in the ſhare of the Quarrel) which they would not willingly furniſh us and truſt to the Events of a War how uncertain ſoever.

THE

THE State of *Holland*, in point both of Riches and Strength, is the moſt prodigious growth that has been ſeen in the World, if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exerciſe; And that Government could not be ſaid to ſtand upon its own Legs, leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to ſupport them againſt *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State ſo narrow in compaſs of Land, and ſo weak in Native Subjects that the Strength of their Armies has ever been made up of foreign Troops. But ſince that time, what with the benefit of their Situation, and Order of their Government, the Conduct of their Miniſters (driving on ſteddy and Publick Intereſt), the Art, Induſtry, and Parſimony of their People; All conſpiring to drive almost the Trade of the whole World into their Circle, (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Foreign Wars.) They have grown

con

onſiderable in the World, that for any years they have treated upon an qual Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without advantage: And in he laſt War with Us and *Munſter*, were able at the ſame time to bring bove a hundred Men of War to Sea, nd maintain threeſcore and ten thouand Men at Land. Beſides the Eſtaliſhment or Conqueſts of their Comnies in the *Eaſt-Indies*, have in a anner erected another ſubordinate ommonwealth in thoſe Parts; Where on occaſion they have armed five d forty Men of War, and thirty ouſand Land-Men, by the modeſteſt mputations. Yet the Frame of this ate (as of moſt great Machines made reſt and not for motion) is abſoely incapable of making any conſirable Enlargements or Conqueſts upon their Neighbours: Which is evident all that know their Conſtitutions: t needs no other Argument beſides ir want of Native Subjects to mage any ſuch Attempts; What Men ey can ſpare, being drawn ſo wholly o their Trade, and their *Faſt-Indies*, that

that they cannot ſo much as furniſh a Colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the Safety and Plantation of that Place: And no Nation ever made and held a Conqueſt by Mercenary Arms. So that the Wounds and Fears they can give their Neighbours, conſiſts in point of Trade; In Injuries or Inſolencies at Sea; In falling with great weight into a Balance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives; And in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a quality natural to Men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late years from the great Succeſſes of theirs under the preſent Miniſtery.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no Wiſe State will ever begin a War, unleſs it be upon deſigns of Conqueſts, or neceſſity of Defence; For all other Wars ſerve only to exhauſt Forces and Treaſure, and end in untoward Peace, patch'd up out of weakneſs or wearineſs of the parties: therefore the *Hollanders* unleſs invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they eſteem now the ſame caſe, if it comes from *France*

ca

can have no Intereſt to offer at a War; But find their greateſt in continuing their courſe of Traffick uninterrupted, and enjoying the Advantages which in that Point their Induſtry and Addreſs will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for theſe ends they will endeavour to preſerve the Peace now in being, and trandy by Leagues and Negotiations againſt any from whom they ſhall fear a Breach of it.

They will ever ſeek to preſerve themſelves by an Alliance with *England* againſt *France*, and by that of *France* againſt *England*, as they did formerly by both againſt *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctures which may ſerve to balance in ſome meaſure the two leſſer Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But becauſe they believe that good Arms are as neceſſary to keep Peace as to make War; They will always be Great in their Preparations of that kind, eſpecially at Sea; By which they may, in all caſes, advance or ſecure their Trade, and upon a War with *France*, make

up

up that way the weakneſs of their
Land-forces, which along Ruſt of
Peace, and a ſwarm of Officers pre-
ferred by the Magiſtrates in favour
of their Relations, has brought to be
very diſproportioned in Force to what
they are in Number. They eſteem
themſelves ſecure from *Spain* and their
German Neighbours (upon what has
been ſaid of the preſent Condition of
thoſe Princes): And from Us, not
ſo much upon our late Treaties with
them, as upon what they take to be
the common Intereſt, which they think
a Nation can never run over, and be-
lieve is the oppoſing any further pro-
greſs of the *French* Greatneſs. Their
only danger they apprehend, is from
France, and that not immediately to
themſelves, but to *Flanders*; where
any Flame would ſoon ſcorch them,
and conſume them, if not quenched
in time. But in regard of the weak-
neſs of *Spain*, the ſlow Motions of
the *Empire* the different Paces among
the Princes of it, and the diſtance of
Sweden; They eſteem the Peace of
Chriſtendom to depend wholly upon
His Majeſty, as well as the Safety of

Flan

Flanders, in caſe of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take wing, while they ſee ſuch a naval Power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coaſts; And ſo many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majeſty declares, united by the ſame jealouſies or dangers. And if they ſhould open a War, they forefee the Conſumption which *France* muſt fall into by the ſtop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations): And the Head that may be made againſt their Forces in the Field it ſelf, by a body of *Engliſh* Infantry (ſo much renowned abroad.) As though their firſt Intereſt be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any ſafety; yet when that ceaſes, their next is to open a war in favour of *Spain*, and conjunction with us. And the greateſt they have in the world, is to preſerve and increaſe their Alliance with us; which will make them follow our meaſures abſolutely in all the preſent Conjunctures.

THE

THE Crown of *France*, conſider
ed in the Extent of Country
in the number of People, in the riche
of Commodities, in the Revenues o
the King, the greatneſs of the Land
Forces now on Foot, and the growt
of thoſe at Sea (within theſe tw
years paſt,) the number and braver
of their Officers, the conduct of the
Miniſters, and chiefly in the Geni
of their preſent King; a Prince
great aſpiring Thoughts, unweari
application to whatever is in purſu
ſevere in the inſtitution and preſerv
tion of Order and Diſcipline; In t
main a Manager of his Treaſure, a
yet bountiful from his own Motio
where-ever he intends the marks
Favour, and diſcerns particular Meri
To this in the flower of his Age, at t
Head of all his Armies, and hithe
unfoiled in any of his attempts, eith
at home or abroad: I ſay, conſide
in all theſe circumſtances, *France* m
appear to be deſigned for greater
chievements and Empires, than ha
been ſeen in *Chriſtendom* ſince that
Charlemaign.

The preſent Greatneſs of this Crown
y be chiefly derived from the For-
e it has had of two great Miniſters
ichlieu and *Mazarine*) ſucceeding
another, between two great Kings,
ry the Fourth, and this preſent
nce; ſo as during the courſe of one
ctive Life, and of a long Minori-
that Crown gained a great deal
Ground both at home and abroad,
ead of loſing it; Which is the com-
n Fate of Kingdoms, upon thoſe
aſions.

The latter greatneſs of this Crown
an in the time of *Lewis* the Ele-
th, by the Spoils of the Houſe of
gundy, and the Diviſions of the
ces, which gave that King the
t of attempting to bring the Go-
ment (as he call'd it) *Hors de*
; being before controuled by
Princes, and reſtrained by their
es; and in point of Revenue, kept
in the bounds of the King's De-
nes, and the Subjects voluntary
tributions.

'Tis not here neceſſary to obſerve,
what difficulties and dangers to the
wn, this Deſign of *Lewis* was pur-

ſued by many ſucceeding Kings, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and up on every ſlacking of either ſtrength o care, rolling a great way back, often t the very bottom of the Hill, and ſome times with the deſtruction of thoſ that forced it on, till the time of Car dinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great M niſter moſt to be admired, that findin the Regency ſhaken by the Factions ſo many great ones within, and awe by the terror of the *Spaniſh* Greatne without; he durſt reſolve to loo them both in the face, and begin War by the courſe of which for many Years (being purſued by *Maz rine* till the Year 60,) the Crown *France*, grew to be powerfully arme The Peaſants were accuſtomed to Pa ments (which could have ſeemed n ceſſary only by a War, and which no but a ſucceſsful one could have helpt digeſt) and grew heartleſs as they gr poor. The Princes were ſometimes tisfied with Commands of the Arm ſometimes mortified and ſuppreſt the abſoluteneſs or addreſſes of the M niſtry; The moſt boiling Blood of t Nobility and Gentry was let out in

ng a War, or wasted with Age and
ercise: At last it ended at the *Pi-*
nees in a Peace, and a Match so ad-
ntageous to *France*, as the Reputa-
n of them contributed much to the
thority of the young King, who was
d up in the Councils, and served
the tried Instruments of the former
nistry; But most of all advantaged
his own Personal Qualities, fit to
ke him obey'd, grew absolute Ma-
of the Factions of the Great Men,
well as the Purses of his People. In
beginning of his Minority, the two
putes with the Pope about the Out-
e of the *Corsi*, and with the King of
n, about the Encounter at *London*,
ween the Count *D'Estrades*, and the
on *de Batteville*, (Embassadors from
se Crowns,) both carried so high,
both ended so honourably, and to
very will of *France*, were enough to
a young Prince the humour and
etite of trying yet further what
e was could oppose him. The In-
n and easie Success in *Flanders*, fed
Glory, and increas'd the Reputation
is Power; Till this Career was in-
pted by the Peace at first, then the

Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Tripple Alliance (contracted purposely to secure it); since which time the Counsels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation of which no Man can yet see the Success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain height where the Flights of Power and Ambition use to end, one might imagine that the Interest of *France* were but to conserve its present Greatness, feared by its Neighbours, and so glorious in the World: But besides that the motions and desires of humane minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for *France* (from respects within) to have some War or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the Nation and keep them from reflecting upon their Condition at home, hard and uneasie to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it) because no Condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *Paisan*

Fr

rance thinks of no more, than his arſe Bread and his Onions, his Can- s Cloths and Wooden Shooes; la- urs contentedly on Working-days, d dances or plays merrily on Holy- ys; He may, for ought I know, live well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is ei- r weary of his very Eaſe, or whoſe es of growing ſtill richer and richer, ſte his Life in Toils at Land, or Dan- s at Sea; and perhaps fool him ſo , as to make him enjoy leſs of all d in his Riches, than t'other in his verty.

But to leave ſtrains of Philoſophy, ich are ill mingled with Diſcourſes Intereſt: The Common People of *nce* are as little conſiderable in the vernment, as the Children; ſo that Nobles and the Soldiers may in manner be eſteemed the Nation; hoſe intereſt and Hopes carry them to War: And whatever is the gene- humour and bent of a Nation, ought r to be much conſidered by a State, ich can hardly miſcarry in the pur- of it. Beſides, the perſonal Diſpoſi- ns of the King, Active and Aſpiring, many Circumſtances in the Govern-

meant (fitter for Persons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the knowledge of;) The continual increase of their Forces in time of Peace, and their fresh Invasion of *Lorrain*, are enough to perswade most Men, that the design of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a prospect of succeeding to purpose; For their Counsels are too wise to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fear or the Schemes of Men too ingeniously Politick: nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a Man that leaps into the Water in strength and vigour and with pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopt by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unless discouraged by the same Alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present Interest of *France*, is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that Tripple Alliance

which

hich alone ſeems to bound their
oſpect, which way ſoever they look:
d if once laid open, they have the
orld and their fortunes before them;
hich is enough for a Crown that
s ſo much Force, and ſo much Con-
ct to manage them. Having little
pes of breaking this on the *Dutch*
e, and knowing the *Swede* will fol-
our Meaſures in it, we may be
e of all Addreſs, and all the Court-
p that can any way be infuſed. And
ſhort, all ſorts of Endeavours and
plications that can be uſed, to break
on ours. Which ſeems to be the
ſent Game of that Crown, and that
will begin no other till they ſee
end of this.

Landers cannot be conſidered di-
ſtinct from *Spain* in the Govern-
t, but may in the Inclinations of
People, which muſt ever have a
t influence upon it. They are
beſt Subjects in the World, but
have ſome reaſon to be weary of
g the Theater of almoſt perpetual
rs; and where thoſe two mighty
wns have fought ſo many Battles,

and ſeem to have ſtill ſo many more to fight, if the Neighbour-aſſiſtances fal in to balance their Powers, now ſ unequally matched. Therefore the In tereſt of the Inhabitants of thoſe *Spa niſh* Provinces ſeems to be, either tha the preſent Peace ſhould be kept invi late by the Strength and Reputation the preſent Alliances; Or elſe, that War when it opens ſhould have a ſu den iſſue; Which might be expecte either from the *French* Conqueſt, or Propoſition of Exchange. They a naturally averſe from the *French* G vernment, as they are inclined to t *Spaniſh*; but have ſo little kindneſs f the *Hollanders*, or eſteem of their Lan forces, that they hardly either hope care to be ſaved by their Aſſiſtanc So as the Reputation of His Majeſt Protection and Alliance, is all that c inſpire them with the hopes of a la ing Peace, or the Courage to defe themſelves by a War.

FRom the Survey of all theſe ſe ral Intereſts, and Forces, and D poſitions that compoſe the preſent St of all our Neighbours, it may be tura

ally and unqueſtionably concluded, at a continuance of the preſent mea- es, the opening of new ones, or an olute Revolution of all, depends olly upon thoſe His Majeſty ſhall e or purſue in this great Conjun- res, wherein he ſeems to be general- llowed for the ſole Arbiter of the airs of *Chriſtendom*.

OUR Intereſt abroad muſt lie in one of theſe Points.

Either to preſerve our preſent Alli- es, and thereby the Peace of *Chri- dom* as it now ſtands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Inva- of *Holland*, with aſſurance of our utrality.

Or elſe to join with *France* upon the vantages they can offer us, for the ine of the *Dutch*.

Upon the firſt is to be conſidered, hether with a longer Peace, the Pow- of *France* and *Holland*, with ſo great venues, and ſuch Application as is in their Governments, will not reaſe every Year out of proportion what ours will do; The Revenues *France*, ariſing originally from the

vent

vent of their Native Commodities, and thoſe of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the ſecond, Whether *France* will ever reſolve upon the Invaſion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own reſolute Defence, without our ſhare in the War; which would otherwiſe leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World and thereby to grow vaſtly both in Strength and Treaſures, whilſt both theſe Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealouſie of ſuch a Deſign in Us, would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before War, or ſoon after it begins, to clo upon ſome Meaſures between them to our diſadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the laſt War, to the diſadvantage of *France*.

Upon the laſt, whether by the Ruin of *Holland*, we can reap as great advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were neceſſary to make ſome equality in our Powers.) And to gain a fair proſpect of this, it muſt be conſidered, whether *Holland* upon its fall would grow an Acceſſion to the *French* or to Us; or live under the Prince of *Oran*

nge as a Sovereign Prince, with our
port or protection. Whether *France*
ld be content with either of these
; or to see us grow absolute Ma-
of the Sea, by the fall or subjecti-
of *Holland*, any more than by their
junction and Alliance. Whether
could be able to defend the Mari-
Provinces, either in our own sub-
on, or in that of the Prince, whilst
ce remained possest of all the Out-
ks of that State (which are their
nd Provinces, their Towns in *Bra-*
and upon the *Rhine*;) Whether
could on the other side hinder the
ssion of *Holland* to *France*, either as
ects in a Maritime Province (with
t Privileges and Immunities for
inuance and encouragement of
de) or as an inferiour and depen-
Ally under their protection. Whe-
in either of these Cases, our Go-
ment would have credit enough in
nd to invite their Shipping and
lers to come over and settle in
nd, and so leave those Provinces
tute of both. Whether it be pos-
to preserve *Flanders* after the loss
Holland, or upon the Conquest of

those

thoſe Countries by *France*; For us t
preſerve our Peace or good Intelligenc
with that King; Or upon a War
defend our ſelves, either by our ow
Forces, or the Alliances of our Neig
bours.

But though theſe Arguments m
deſerve the moſt ſerious Deliberatio
of Miniſters at home; yet I know th
lie out of the compaſs of my Dut
and are improper for the Repreſent
tions of a Man, the courſe of wh
Employments and Thoughts for
long a time has lain wholly abroad.

AN ESSAY UPON THE ORIGINAL and NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Written in the YEAR 1672.

THE Nature of Man ſeems to be the ſame in all Times and Places, but varied like their Statures, Complexions, Features, by the force and influence of the ſeveral Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them by a different mixture of the Humours and Operation of the Air, a different and unequal Courſe

Courſe of Imaginations and Paſſions
and conſequently of Diſcourſes an
Actions.

Theſe Differences incline Men
ſeveral Cuſtoms, Educations, Opin
ons, and Laws; which Form an
Govern the ſeveral Nations of t
World, where they are not inte
rupted by the violence of ſome For
from without, or ſome Faction wit
in, which like a great Blow, or
great Diſeaſe, may either change
deſtroy the very Frame of a Bod
though if it lives to recover Streng
and Vigour, it commonly returns
time to its natural Conſtitution,
ſomething near it.

(I ſpeak not of thoſe Changes a
Revolutions of State, of Inſtitutions
Government that are made by
more immediate and evident Opera
on of Divine Will and Providen
being the Themes of Divines, and
of Common Men; and the Subje
of our Faith, not of Reaſon.)

This may be the cauſe that the fa
Countries have generally in all ti
been uſed to Forms of Governm
much of a ſort; The ſame Nature e

tinuing under the ſame Climate, making returns into its old Chan- though ſometimes led out of it by ſwaſions, and ſometimes beaten out force.

Thus the more Northern, and more thern Nations (Extremes as they ſtill agreeing) have ever lived un- ſingle and Arbitrary Dominions; l the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muſ-* on the one ſide, and of *Africk* and on the other. While thoſe under more temperate Climates, eſpecial- n *Europe*, have ever been uſed to e moderate Governments, running ently much into Common-wealths, of later Ages into Principalities nded by Laws, which differ leſs in ure than in Name.

or though the old diſtinctions run rwiſe, there ſeem to be but two eral kinds of Government in the ld; the one exerciſed according to Arbitrary commands and will of ſingle Perſon; and the other ac- ng to certain Orders or Laws in- ced by agreement or cuſtom, and o be changed without the conſent any.

But

But under each of theſe may
many more particular kinds, than
be reduced to the common heads
Government received in the Schoo
For thoſe of the firſt ſort, differ acco
ding to the Diſpoſitions and Humou
of him that Rules, and of them th
Obey: as Fevers do according to t
temper of the Perſons, and accidents
the ſeaſons. And thoſe of the oth
ſort differ according to the quality
number of the Perſons upon whom
devolved the authority of making,
power of Executing Laws.

Nor will any Man that underſta
the State of *Poland*, and the *Uni*
Provinces, be well able to range th
under any particular Names of G
vernment that have been yet inv
ted.

The great Scenes of Action, a
Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *It*
and *Scicily*, were all divided into ſm
Common-wealths, till ſwallowed
and made Provinces by that migh
one of *Rome*, together with *Spa*
Gaul, and *Germany*. Theſe were
fore compoſed of many ſmall Gove
ments, among which the Cities w

erally under Common-wealths, and Countries, under ſeveral Princes: were Generals in their Wars, but in e lived without Armies or Guards, y Inſtruments of Arbitrary Power: were only chief of their Councils, of thoſe Aſſemblies by whoſe con-tions, and authority, the great s and actions among them were ved and enterprized.

hrough all theſe Regions ſome of maller States, but chiefly thoſe of ities, fell often under Tyrannies: h ſpring naturally out of Popular rnments. While the meaner ſort e People oppreſt, or ill protected e Richer, and Greater, give them-up to the conduct of ſome one in chief credit among them; and t all to his will and diſcretion: running eaſily from one extream other, or contented to ſee thoſe nated and feared before, now in condition with themſelves: Or ſe a multitude is incapable of g Orders, though capable of ving them: Or that every Man to find by experience, that con-and popular tumults have worſe

effects upon common ſafety than
rankeſt Tyranny. For it is eaſier
pleaſe the humour, and either appe
or reſiſt the fury of one ſingle Man th
of a multitude. And taking each
them in their extreams, the rage o
Tyrant may be like that of Fire, wh
conſumes what it reaches but by
grees, and devouring one Houſe a
another; whereas the rage of Pe
is like that of the Sea, which o
breaking bounds, overflows a Co
try with that ſuddenneſs and viole
as leaves no hopes either of flying
reſiſting, till with the change of T
or Winds it returns of it ſelf.

The force and variety of accid
is ſo great, that it will not per
bear reaſoning, or enquiry how
comes about, that ſingle Arbitrary
minion ſeems to have been natura
Aſia and *Africk*, and the other
to *Europe*. For though *Carthage*
indeed a Common-wealth in *A*
and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*;
the firſt was not Native of that
(being a Colony of the *Tyrians*
there were ſome other ſmall on
the *Grecians* upon the ſame Co

d the King of *Macedon* governed by
ws, and the Conſent as well as
uncils of the Nobles. Not like the
gs of *Perſia*, by Humour and
ll; as appears by the event of their
rrel, while ſo few Subjects con-
red ſo many Slaves.
et one Reaſon may be, That *Si-*
Greece, and *Italy*, (which were
Regions of Common-wealths)
planted thick with rich and
lous Cities (occaſioned by their
g ſo far encompaſſed with the
) And the Vein of all rich Ci-
ever enclines to that kind of
ernment. Whether it be that
e many grow rich many grow
ower, and are harder to be ſub-
d: Or where Men grow to great
ſſions, they grow more intent
Safety, and therefore deſire to
overned by Laws and Magiſtrates
ir own choice, fearing all Armed
Arbitrary Power: Or that the
compaſs of Cities makes the eaſe
convenience of Aſſemblies and
cils: Or that Converſation ſhar-
Mens Wits, and makes too many
ners in matters of Government.

The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast *Campania*'s, such as are extended through *Asia* and *Africk*, where there are few Cities besides what grow by the Residence of the Kings or their Governours. The People are poore and having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the designs of Power or Violence. The assembling of Persons deputed from People at great distances one from another, trouble to them that are sent, and charge to them that send. And where Ambition and Avarice have made no entrance, the desire of leisure is much more natural, than of business and care: besides, Men conversing all their lives with the Woods and the Fields and the Herds more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire; use their Senses a great deal more than their Reasons; examine not the nature or the tenure of Power or Authority; find only they are fit to obey, because they are not fit to govern. And so come to submit to the will of him they found in Power, as they do to the will of Heaven, and

fter all changes of Conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seaſons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be ſaid further, That in the more intemperate Climates, the Spirits either exhal'd by Heat, or compreſs'd by Cold, are rendred faint and ſluggiſh; and by that reaſon the Men grow tame, and fitter for ſervitude. That in more temperate Regions the Spirits are ſtronger, and more active, whereby Men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their Liberties.

But all Government is a reſtraint upon Liberty; And under all, the Dominion is equally abſolute, where it is in the laſt reſort.

So that when Men ſeem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the change of thoſe that Rule, or for the Forms of Government they have formerly been uſed to; and (being grown weary of the preſent) now begin to like it; though when they enjoyed it was not without ſome preſſure and complaint. Nor can it be in the leaſt caſe, that when vaſt numbers of People ſubmit their Lives and Fortunes

abſolutely to the Will of one, it ſhou
be want of Heart, but muſt be ſo
of Cuſtom, or Opinion, the true groun
and foundation of all Governmen
and that which ſubjects Power
Authority. *For Power ariſing fr*
Strength, is always in thoſe that are
verned, who are many: But Authority
riſing from Opinion, is in thoſe that
vern, who are few.

This diſtinction is plain in the For
of the old *Roman* State, where La
were made, and Reſolutions take
Authoritate Senatûs, and *Juſſu Pop*
The Senate were Authors of all Co
ſels in the State; and what was
them conſulted and agreed, was p
poſed to the People: By whom it
enacted, or commanded, becauſe
them was the Power to make it be
beyed. But the great opinion which
People had at firſt of the Perſons of
Senators, and afterwards of their
milies (which were called *Patrici*
gained eaſie aſſent to what was
propoſed; The Authority of the
ſons adding great weight to the R
ſon of the things. And this wen
far, that though the choice of all
giſtra

ates was wholly in the People, yet a long courſe of Years they choſe but *Patricians* into the great Of- of State, either Civil or Military. when the People began to loſe the ral opinion they had of the *Pa- ns*, or at leaſt ſo far as to believe among themſelves were as able, it as theſe, to adviſe the State, and their Armies: They then pre- d to ſhare with the Senate in the ſtracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to ffices of chiefeſt Power and Dig- And hereupon began thoſe Se- s which ſo long diſtempered, and gth ruined that State.

Uthority ariſes from the opinion of Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Va- n the Perſons who poſſeſs it.

iſdom, as that which makes Men what are the beſt Ends, and what eſt Means to attain them; and a Man advantage among the weak he ignorant; as ſight among the , which is that of Counſel and ion: This gives Authority to among the Younger, till theſe at certain Years to change their

opinion of the old, and of themſelv
This gives it more abſolute to a Pi
at Sea, whom all the Paſſengers ſuf
to ſteer them as he pleaſes.

Goodneſs, is that which mak
Men prefer their Duty and their P
miſe, before their Paſſions, or th
Intereſt; and is properly the object
Truſt: In our Language, it goes
ther by the name of Honeſty; thou
what we call an Honeſt Man, the
mans called a Good Man: and Hone
in their Language, as well as in *Fre*
rather ſignifies a Compoſition of th
Qualities which generally acquire
nour and eſteem to thoſe who po
them.

Valour, as it gives Awe, and
miſes Protection to thoſe who w
either Heart or Strength to de
themſelves: This makes the Auth
ty of Men among Women; and
of a Maſter-Buck in a numerous H
though perhaps not ſtrong eno
for any two of them; but the
preſſion of ſingle Fear holds w
they are all together, by the ignor
of Uniting.

oquence, as it paſſes for a mark
Viſdom; Beauty of Goodneſs, and
ility of Valour (which was its
inal) have likewiſe ever ſome
upon the opinion of the People;
a very great one when they are
joyned with the Qualities they
iſe or reſemble.

here is yet another Source from
h uſually ſprings greater Authori-
an from all the reſt; which is the
on of Divine Favour, or deſig-
of the Perſons, or of the Races
Govern. This made the Kings
g the Heathens ever derive them-
, or their Anceſtors, from ſome
paſſing thereby for Heroes, that
rſons iſſued from the mixture of
e and Humane Race, and of a
le Nature between Gods and Men:
s joined the Mitre to the Crown,
hereby the Reverence of Divine,
Reſpect of Civil Power.

is made the *Caliphs* of *Perſia* and
, and the great Emperours of
, derive themſelves by ſeveral
hes from their great Prophet *Ma-*
The *Yncas* in *Peru* from the
And the *Ottoman* Race to be ado-

red

red among the *Turks*, as designed
Heaven for perpetual Empire.
the sacring of the Kings of *France*
Loysel says) is the sign of their So
reign Priesthood, as well as Kingdo
and in the Right thereof they are
pable of holding all vacant Benef
of the Church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to
Favour of GOD; and Fortune,
looks like the Effect either of that,
at least of Prudence and Courage,
get Authority. As likewise splen
of living in great Palaces, with nu
rous Attendance, much Observa
and Rich Habits differing from c
mon Men: Both as it seems to be
Reward of those Vertues already
med, or the effect of Fortune; or
is a Mark of being obeyed by man

From all these Authority arises,
is by nothing so much strengthened
confirmed as by Custom. For no
easily distrusts the Persons, or disp
the things which he and all Men
he knows of, have been always
up to observe and believe; or
does, he will hardly hope or ventu
introduce Opinions wherein he kn

or few of his mind, and thinks
ers will defend thoſe already
d: ſo as no Man nor Party can
t the change of a Government
ſht, without firſt gaining new
rity by the ſteps already traced
nd in ſome degree debaſing the
y appearance or impreſſions of
y qualities in thoſe who before
it. This induces a general
of opinion concerning the Per-
Party like to be obeyed or fol-
y the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part
People: according to which, the
or weakneſs of each is to be
ed. So as in effect all Govern-
nay be eſteemed to grow ſtrong
k as the general opinion of theſe
s in thoſe that Govern, is ſeen
n or increaſe.

Power muſt be allowed to fol-
uthority in all Civil Bodies; as
ural, the Motions of the Body
thoſe of the Mind; great num-
ver acting and purſuing what
v (whom they truſt) begin or

FROM

FROM this Principle, and fr
the diſcovery of ſome natural A
thority, may perhaps be deduce
truer original of all Governments
mong Men, than from any Contra
tho' theſe be given us by the great W
ters concerning Politicks and La
Some of them lay for their foundat
That Men are ſociable Creatures,
naturally diſpoſed to live in Num
and Troops together. Others, that
are naturally Creatures of Prey, an
a ſtate of War one upon another;
as to avoid confuſion in the firſt
and violence in the other, they fo
out the neceſſity of agreeing upon
Orders and Rules, by which every
gives up his common Right for
particular poſſeſſion, and his pow
hurt and ſpoil others for the privi
of not being hurt or ſpoiled him
And the agreement upon ſuch Or
by mutual contract, with the co
to execute them, by common ſtre
and endeavours, They make to b
riſe of all Civil Governments.

I know not whether they co
what it is that makes ſome creature

and others live and range more
or in ſmaller Companies; but I
ſe thoſe Creatures whoſe natural
eceſſary Food is eaſie and plenti-
Graſs, or Plants, or Fruits (the
on Product of the Earth) are
iable Creatures, becauſe where-
ey go, they uſually find what
vant, and enough for them all,
t induſtry or contention. And
ve more alone, whoſe Food (and
re prey) is upon other ſenſitive
res, and ſo not attained without
and violence, and ſeldom in
uantities at once, as to ſatisfie
nger of great numbers together.
s does not hold ſo far, but that
s are ſeen in flocks where a Car-
es, and Wolves in herds to run
a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly
er while there is enough for them
Quarrel only when it begins to
nd when 'tis ended, they ſcatter
out new encounters. Beſides,
alled ſociable, quarrel in hunger
luſt, as well as the others; and
ll and the Ram appear then as
n Fury and War, as the Lyon
Bear. So that if Mankind muſt
be

be ranged to one of these sorts, I kn
not well to which it will be: and c
sidering the great differences of
stoms and dispositions in several M
and even in the same Men at sev
times, I very much doubt they c
be divided into several forms. No
I know, if Men are like Sheep,
they need any Government: or if t
are like Wolves, how they can suff
Nor have I read where the Order
any State have been agreed on by
tual Contract among great numbe
Men, meeting together in that na
state of War, where every Man t
himself to have equal right to e
thing. But often where such Or
have been invented by the Wisd
and received by the Authority of
one Man, under the name of a L
giver; And where this has not
pened, the original of Governm
lies as undiscovered in story, as th
Time. All Nations appearing
the first Records that are left us
der the Authority of Kings, or Pri
or some other Magistrates.

Besides, this principle of contra
the original of Government, seem
cu

ted for the Account given by
e of the old Poets, of the Original
lan; whom they raiſe out of the
nd by great numbers at a time, in
& Stature and Strength. Where-
we deduce the ſeveral Races of
kind in the ſeveral Parts of the
ld from Generation, we muſt ima-
the firſt numbers of them who in
place agree upon any Civil Con-
ions, to aſſemble not as ſo many
Heads, but as ſo many Heads of
ies, whom they repreſent, in the
ng any Compact or common Ac-
and conſequently, as Perſons
have already an Authority over
umbers as their Families are com-
of.

if we conſider a Man multiply-
s Kind by the Birth of many Chil-
and his Cares by providing even
ary Food for them, till they are
o do it for themſelves (which
ns much later to the Generations
en, and makes a much longer de-
nce of Children upon Parents,
ve can obſerve among any other
res:) If we conſider not only the
but the Induſtry he is forced to,

for

for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his he
leſs Brood, either in gathering the
tural Fruits or raiſing thoſe which
purchaſed with labour and toil; if
be forced for ſupply of this Stock
catch the tamer Creatures, and h
the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe
Courage in defending his little Fam
and fighting with the ſtrong and
vage Beaſts (that would prey u
him, as he does upon the weak and
mild;) if we ſuppoſe him diſpo
with diſcretion and order, whate
he gets, among his Children, accor
to each of their hunger or need, ſo
times laying up for to Morrow, w
was more than enough for to day;
other times pinching himſelf, ra
than ſuffering any of them ſhould w
And as each of them grows up,
able to ſhare in the common ſupp
teaching him both by Leſſon and
ample, what he is now to do as
Son of this Family, and what he
ter as the Father of another; in
cting them all, what Qualities are g
and what are ill, for their Health
Life, or common Society (which
certainly comprehend whatever i
ne

y eſteemed Virtue or Vice among
cheriſhing and encouraging diſ-
ons to the good; diſavouring
uniſhing thoſe to the ill. And
Among the various accidents of
lifting up his Eyes to Heaven,
the Earth affords him no relief;
ving recourſe to a higher and a
r Nature, whenever he finds the
of his own: We muſt needs
de, that the Children of this
annot fail of being bred up with
opinion of his Wiſdom, his
eſs, his Valour, and his Piety.
they ſee conſtant plenty in the
, they believe well of his For-
o.

from all this muſt naturally
great paternal Authority, which
s his Children (at leaſt till the
hen they grow Fathers them-
to believe what he teaches, to
what he adviſes, and obey what
mands.

s the Father, by a natural Right
as Authority, becomes a Gover-
this little State; and if his Life
, and his generations many (as
thoſe of his Children) he grows

the Governour or King of a Na
and is indeed a *Pater patriæ*, as the
Kings are, and as all ſhould be;
as thoſe which are not, are yet co
to be called. Thus the peculiar
pellation of the King in *France*,
the name of *Sire*, which in thei
cient Language is nothing elſe bu
ther, and denotes the Prince to b
Father of the Nation. For a N
properly ſignifies a great numb
Families, derived from the ſame B
born in the ſame Country and
under the ſame Government and
Conſtitutions: As *Patria* does the
of our Father; and ſo the *Dut*
expreſſions of dearneſs, inſtead
Country, ſay our *Father-land.*
ſuch Nations we find in Scriptu
the Lands of *Judea*, and the ad
Territories, were planted of old.
ſuch the many ſeveral Provinc
Greece and *Italy* when they bega
to appear upon the Records of A
Story or Tradition. And with
was the main Land of *Gaul* inh
in the time of *Cæſar*; and *Germ*
that of *Tacitus*. Such were the
Branches of the old *Britiſh* N

Scepts among the *Iriſh*. And ſuch infinite variety and numbers of ons in *Africk* and *America* upon firſt diſcoveries, diſtinguiſht by ſeveral Names, and living under ſeveral Kings or Princes, till they to be ſwallowed up by greater res.

eſe ſeem to have been the natu- nd original Governments of the d, ſpringing from a tacite defe- of many to the Authority of gle Perſon. Under Him (if the of the Family or Nation) the of his Children comes to acquire gree of Authority among the er by the ſame means the Father mong them; and to ſhare with n the conſultation and conduct r common Affairs. And this to- with an Opinion of Wiſdom Experience, may have brought in uthority of the Elders, ſo often oned among the *Jews*; and in l of aged Men, not only in *Sparta me*, but all other places in ſome both civil and barbarous. For mes of Lord, *Signior*, *Signeur*, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spa-*

niſh Languages, ſeem to have at fi
imported only Elder Men, who the
by were grown into Authority amo
the ſeveral Governments and Natio
which ſeated themſelves in thoſe Co
tries upon the fall of the *Roman* E
pire.

This perhaps brought in vogue t
which is called the Authority of
Ancients in matters of opinion, tho
by a miſtaken ſence: For I ſuppoſe
thority may be reaſonably allowe
the Opinion of Ancient Men in
preſent Age; but I know not wh
ſhould be ſo to thoſe of Men in g
ral that lived in ages long ſince
nor why one age of the World ſh
be wiſer than another; or if it
why it ſhould not be rather the l
than the former; as having the
advantage of the general experi
of the World, that an old Man
of the more particular experimen
Life.

THus a Family ſeems to beco
little Kingdom, and a King
to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Pa

diction in its ſucceſſions, and with
elp of accidents, may have branch-
ut into the ſeveral Heads of Go-
nent commonly received in the
ls. For a Family Governed
order, will fall naturally to the
l Trades of Husbandry, which
illage, Gardning and Paſturage
product whereof was the origi-
iches.) For the managing of theſe
heir increaſe, and the aſſiſtance
Man, who perhaps is to feed
, it may be a hundred Children
it is not eaſily told how far Ge-
ons may extend, with the Arbi-
choice and numbers of women,
ed anciently in moſt Countries)
e of Servants comes to be neceſſa-
Theſe are gained by Victory and
ves, or by Fugitives out of ſome
governed Family, where either
annot or like not to live, and ſo
ir Liberty to be aſſured of what
ſſary to Life. Or elſe by the
d Nature of ſome of the Chil-
who ſeem born to drudgery, or
e content to encreaſe their pains
ey may leſſen their cares; and
uch terms become Servants to

ſome of their Brothers, whom th
moſt eſteem or chuſe ſooneſt to l
with.

The Family thus encreaſed, is
under the Father's common, thou
not equal care; that what is due to
Servants by Contract, or what is fit
them to enjoy, may be provided,
well as the Portions of the Childr
And that whatever they acquire
their Induſtry or Ingenuity (beyo
what the Maſters expect, or exact f
them by the Conditions of their ſer
tude) ſhould be as much their Pro
ty, as any diviſions of Land o
Stock that are made to the Sons;
the poſſeſſion as ſecure, unleſs for
by any demerit or offence againſt
cuſtoms of the Family, which g
with time to be the Orders of thi
tle State.

Now the Father of a Family or
tion, that uſes his Servants like
dren in point of Juſtice and Care;
adviſes with his Children in what
cerns the Commonweal, and the
is willingly followed and obeyed
them all, is what I ſuppoſe the Sch
mean by a Monarch. And he tha
ha

neſs of Nature, wilfulneſs of Hu-
, intemperance of Paſſions, and
arineſs of Commands, uſes his
ren like Servants, is what they
by a Tyrant. And whereas the
hought himſelf ſafe in the love
bedience of his Children, the o-
knowing that he is feared and
by them, thinks he cannot be
mong his Children, but by put-
Arms into the hands of ſuch of his
nts as he thinks moſt at his will;
is the original of Guards. For
t a Foreign Enemy, and for de-
of evident Intereſt, all that can
Arms in a Nation are Soldiers.
Cauſe is common Safety; their
Honour: And when they have
aſed theſe, they return to their
s, and former conditions of peace-
Lives. Such were all the Armies
reece and of *Rome*, in the firſt
of their States. Such were their
d' ordonance in *France*, and the
-bands in *England*: but ſtanding
ps, and in conſtant Pay, are pro-
Servants armed, who uſe the
and the Sword, as other Ser-
do the Sickle, or the Bill at the

command and will of thoſe who ent
tain them. And therefore Martial-L
is of all other the moſt abſolute, a
not like the Government of a Fath
but a Maſter.

And this brings in another ſort
Power, diſtinct from that already
ſcribed, which follows Authority, a
conſiſts in the willing obedience of
People: But this in the command
Soldiers, who as Servants are bound
execute the will and Orders of th
that lead them. And as Autho
follows the qualities before-mention
ſo this Power follows Riches, or
opinion of it; a multitude of Serv
being his that is able to maintain th
And theſe kind of Forces come to
uſed by good Princes only upon
ceſſity of providing for their def
againſt great and armed Neighbou
Enemies; But by ill ones as a ſup
of decayed Authority, or as they
the force of that which is Nat
and Paternal, and ſo grow to ſe
an intereſt of thoſe that Gov
different from that of thoſe that
Governed, which ought ever to
the ſame.

t this ſeems a much weaker Prin-
of Government than the other;
e Number of Soldiers can never
eat in Proportion to that of Peo-
o more than the Number of thoſe
re idle in a Country, to that of
who live by Labour or Induſtry:
if the People come to unite by
rong Paſſion, or general Intereſt,
der the wiſe Conduct of any Au-
y well rooted in their Minds,
re Maſters of Armies. Beſides,
mour of the People runs inſen-
mong the very Soldiers, ſo as it
much alike to keep off by
s, a general Infection, or an uni-
Sedition: For the Diſtemper in
kinds is contageous, and ſeizes
the Defenders themſelves. Be-
common Pay is a faint Principle
rage and Action, in Compariſon
gion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge,
ceſſity; which make every Sol-
ve the Quarrel as much at Heart
Leaders, and ſeem to have ſpi-
ll the great Actions, and Re-
ns of the World. And laſtly,
t the Force of Authority, this
of Soldiers grows pernicious to
their

their Maſter who becomes their S
vant, and is in danger of their mu
nies, as much as any Government
be of the ſeditions of a People.

If the Father of our Family gov
it with Prudence, Goodneſs, and S
ceſs; and his eldeſt Son appear Hei
the Vertues and worth of his Fath
He ſucceeds in the Government b
Natural Right, and by the Strengt
an Authority both derived from
Father, and acquired by his own
ſonal qualities: but if either the e
Son by qualities degenerate and
happen to loſe all truſt and opin
and thereby (Authority) in the F
ly; or elſe to die before his time,
leave a Child in his room; when
Father comes to fail, then the
dren fall into Councils of Elec
and either preferr the eldeſt of the
then living or perhaps one later,
ſo remoter in Birth, according a
may have acquired Authority by
Qualities which naturally produ
and promiſe the beſt conduct and
tection to the common Affairs
Family.

ere the Father comes to loſe his
rity, many of the elder, or wiſer,
ver of the Sons increaſe in theirs
ſame degree: and when both
arrive at a certain height, the
of the Government is ready
change: and upon the Fathers
or general defection of the Fa-
they ſucceed in his Authority,
the humour of the whole Body
gainſt the ſucceſſion or election
ſingle Perſon, which they are
weary of by ſo late an Example,
us comes in what they call an
acy. But Authority contracting
(as it ſeems naturally to do till
in a point or ſingle Perſon)
overnment falls ſometimes into
nds of a few, who eſtabliſh it in
amilies: and that is called an
by. If the Authority come to
in either of theſe Forms; while
ildren of the Family grow into
anners and Qualities, and per-
nto the condition and poverty
ants; and while many of the
s by induſtry and virtue, arrive
s and eſteem, then the nature
Government inclines to a *De-*

mocracy

mocracy or Popular State, which
neareſt confuſion, or *Anarchy*; and
ten runs into it, unleſs upheld or di
ſted by the Authority of one, or
ſome few in the State; though perha
without Titles or Marks of any ext
ordinary Office or Dignity.

GOvernments founded upon C
tract, may have ſucceeded th
founded upon Authority: But the
of them ſhould rather ſeem to h
been agreed between Princes and S
jects, than between Men of equal R
and Power. For the Original of S
jection was, I ſuppoſe, when one Na
warring againſt another (for thi
neceſſary to Life, or for Women,
for extent of Land) overcame t
Enemies: if they only won a Ba
and put their Enemies to flight, t
they took Priſoners became their Sl
and continued ſo in their Gener
ons, unleſs infranchized by their
ſters: But if by great ſlaughter or
quent Victories, they ſubdued the
courages of their Enemies, while g
numbers of them remained alive;
the Vanquiſht Nation became ſubje

Conquerors by Agreement, and certain Conditions of Safety and ction; and perhaps equal Enjoy- of Liberties and Cuſtoms, with ommon Natives under the other rnment: If by ſuch frequent Suc- and Additions, a Nation extend- elf over vaſt Tracts of Land and bers of People, it thereby arrived e at the ancient Name of King- or Modern of Empire.

er ſuch a Victory, the chiefeſt of nquering Nations become Rich reat upon the Diviſions of Lands, ils, and of Slaves: By all which grow into Power, are Lords ir own Lands, and over thoſe habit them, with certain Rights iſdictions, and upon certain Ho- reſerved to the Prince. The m of employing theſe great Per- n all great Offices and Councils, to paſs for a Right; as all Cu- does with Length and Force of

e Prince that Governs according Conditions of Subjection at firſt upon (of which Uſe is the ntick Record) and according

to

to the ancient Cuſtoms, which are
original Laws (and by which
Right of ſucceſſion in the Crown
well as private Inheritance and C
mon Juſtice, is directed and eſtabli
is called a Lawful Sovereign: He
breaks and violates theſe ancient C
ſtitutions (eſpecially that of Succeſſ
is termed an Uſurper.

A Free Nation is that which
never been conquered, or thereby
ter'd into any conditions of Subjec
as the *Romans* were, before they
ſubdued by the *Goths* and *Van*
and as the *Turks* ſeem to be at
time; who having been called
Scythia to aſſiſt the *Grecian* Em
againſt that of the *Saracens*,
themſelves Maſters of both.

In Countries ſafer from Foreign I
ſions either by Seas or Rivers, by M
tains and Paſſes, or great Trac
rough, barren, and uninhabited L
People lived generally in ſcat
Dwellings, or ſmall Villages: But,
Invaſion is eaſie, and Paſſage open
bodering Nations are great and
ant; Men croud together, and
their ſafety from number better un

from walls and other Fortificati-
the uſe whereof is to make the
a match for the many, ſo as they
Fight or Treat on equal Terms.
this is the original of Cities; but
greatneſs and riches of them en-
e according to the commodiouſ-
of their ſituation, in fertile Coun-
, or upon Rivers and Havens;
h ſurpaſs the greateſt fertility
y Soil, in furniſhing plenty of
ings neceſſary to Life or Lux-

hen Families meet together, ſur-
themſelves by Walls, fall into
and Laws (either invented by
iſdom of ſome one, or ſome few
and from the evidenece of their
ck utility received by all; or elſe
luced by experience and time)
heſe Cities preſerve themſelves in
joyment of their Poſſeſſions, and
vance of their Inſtitutions, againſt
vaſions; and never are forced to
t to the will of any Conqueror,
dition of any abſolute Subje-
They are called free Cities: and
there were many of old, and
and *Sicily*, deducing their ori-
ginal

ginal from ſome one Founder or La
giver: And are many now in *Germ*
ſubject to no Laws but their own, a
thoſe of the Empire, which is an U
on of many Soveraign Powers,
whoſe general Conſent in their D
all its Conſtitutions are framed an
ſtabliſhed.

Commonwealths were nothing m
in their Original, but free Cities, tho
ſometimes by Force of Orders and
cipline, or of a numerous and val
People, they have extended themſe
into mighty Dominions: And ofte
Situation and Trade, grow to
Riches, and thereby to great Powe
Force of Mercenary Arms. And t
ſeem to be the more Artificial, as t
of a ſingle Perſon the more Nat
Governments; being forced to ſu
the Want of Authority by wiſe In
tions, Orders and Inſtitutions.

For Authority can never be ſo g
in many as in one, becauſe the
nion of thoſe Qualities which acc
it, cannot be equal in ſeveral
ſons.

Theſe Governments ſeem to be i
duced either by the Wiſdom and
der

on of ſome one Law-giver, who
uthority enough with the People
followed and obſerved in all his
s and Advices; and yet prefers
which he eſteems publick utility,
any intereſt or greatneſs of
n (ſuch were *Lycurgus* in *Spar-*
d *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon*
acuſe;) Or elſe by the conflu-
f many Families out of ſome
ries expoſed to ſome fierce or
ous Invaſions, into Places for-
y Nature, and ſecure from the
nd miſery, of ſuch Conqueſts.
were *Rhodes* of old, and ſeveral
ſlands upon the Coaſts of *Ionia*;
h was *Venice*, founded upon the
tion of the barbarous Nations
aly: Or laſtly, by the ſuppreſ-
d extinction of ſome Tyranny,
being thrown off by the vio-
dignation of an oppreſſed People,
way for a Popular Government,
aſt ſome form very contrary to
hich they lately execrated and
d: Such were *Rome* upon the
on of the *Tarquins*; and the
Provinces upon their revolt
Spain. Yet are none of theſe

Forms to be raiſed or upheld with
the influence of Authority, acquired
the force of opinion of thoſe Vertue
bove mentioned, which concurr'
Brutus among the *Romans*, and
Prince *William* of *Orange* among t
of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Argum
or compariſons of the ſeveral form
Government that have been, or a
the World wherein that cauſe ſ
commonly the better, that has the
ter Advocate, or is advantaged by
er experience, and impreſſions of
or evil from any of the Forms a
thoſe that judge: They have all
heighths and their falls, their ſt
and weak ſides; are capable of
perfections, and ſubject to great co
tions: and though the preference
already decided in what has bee
of a ſingle Perſon being the or
and natural Government; and t
is capable of the greateſt Auth
(which is the foundation of all
ſafety, and order in the Govern
of the World) yet it may perha
the moſt reaſonably concluded,
thoſe Forms are beſt, which hav

eſt received and authorized in a
ion by cuſtom and uſe; and into
ch the Humours and Manners of
People run with the moſt general
ſtrongeſt current.

elſe, that thoſe are the beſt Go-
ments, where the beſt Men Go-
; and that the difference is not ſo
in the forms of Magiſtracy, as
e Perſons of Magiſtrates; which
be the ſenſe of what was ſaid of
taking wiſe and good Men to be
by Philoſophers) that the beſt
nments were thoſe, where Kings
Philoſophers, or Philoſophers

HE ſafety and firmneſs of any
Frame of Government, may be
dged by the Rules of *Archite-*
which teach us that the *Pyramid*
ll Figures the firmeſt, and leaſt
to be ſhaken or overthrown by
ncuſſions or Accidents from the
r Air: and it grows ſtill ſo much
er, by how much broader the
and ſharper the top.

Ground upon which all Govern-

ment ſtands, is the conſent of the Pe
ple, or the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part
them; whether this proceed from R
flections upon what is paſt, by the re
rence of an Authority under which th
and their Anceſtors have for many A
been born and bred; or from ſenſe
what is preſent, by the eaſe, plenty, a
ſafety they enjoy: or from Opini
of what is to come, by the fear t
have from the preſent Government,
hopes from another. Now that Gove
ment which by any of theſe, or all t
ways, takes in the conſent of the g
teſt number of the People, and co
quently their deſires and reſolution
ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to
the broadeſt bottom, and to ſtand
on the largeſt compaſs of Ground:
if it terminate in the Authority of
ſingle Perſon, it may likewiſe be
to have the narroweſt top, and
make the Figure of the firmeſt fo
Pyramid.

On the contrary, a Govern
which by alienating the Affection
ſing the opinions, and croſſing th
tereſts of the People, leaves out
compaſs the greateſt part of thei

; may juſtly be ſaid in the ſame
ees it thus loſes ground, to nar-
its bottom: and if this be done
rve the Ambition, humour the
on, ſatisfie the Appetites, or ad-
e the Power and Intereſts not
of one Man, but of two, or more,
any that come to ſhare in the Go-
ment: By this means the top may
ſtly ſaid to grow broader; as the
m narrower by the other. Now
e ſame degrees that either of theſe
n, the ſtability of the Figure is by
me leſſened and impaired; ſo as
rtain degrees it begins to grow
ſt to accidents of Wind, and of
her; and at certain others, it is
o fall of it ſelf, or by the leaſt
that happens, to the ground.
theſe meaſures it will appear, That
narchy where the Prince governs
e Affections, and according to the
ions and Intereſts of his People,
bulk of them, (that is, by many
es the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part
em) makes of all others the ſafeſt
irmeſt Government: and on the
ary, a Popular State which is not
ed in the general Humours and

Intereſt of the People, but only
the Perſons who ſhare in the Gove
ment, or depend upon it, is of all
thers the moſt uncertain, unſtable a
ſubject to the moſt frequent and e
changes.

That a Monarchy the leſs it take
of the Peoples Opinions and Intere
and the more it takes in of the Paſſi
and Intereſt of particular Men, (bei
thoſe of the Prince, and contrary
thoſe of the People) the more un
ble it grows, and the more endange
by every ſtorm in the Air, or e
ſhake of the Earth: And a Comm
wealth, the more it takes in of the
neral Humour and bent of the Peo
and the more it ſpires up to a Head
the Authority of ſome one Perſon f
ded upon the Love and Eſteem o
People; the firmer it ſtands, and
ſubject to Danger or change by
concuſſions of Earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reve
may ſtand for a while upon its P
if balanced by admirable Skill,
held up by perpetual Care, and
be a Calm in the Air about it: Na
the Point be very hard and ſtrong,

il very yielding and ſoft; it may
into the Ground with time, ſo
grow the firmer the longer it
s: But this laſt can never happen
er the Top of the Figure be weak
,or if the Soil be hard and rough;
t the beſt it is ſubject to be over-
n; if not by its own Weight, yet
ever any Foreign Weight ſhall
to fall upon any part of it; and
t muſt overturn whenever there
s any unequality in the Balance,
Negligence in the Hands that ſet
and even without either of thoſe,
ver there arrives any Violence to
t, either from the Winds abroad,
ſe in the Bowels of the Earth
it ſtands.

ll not pretend from this Scheme
ge, or judge of the future Events
ay attend any Governments;
is the Buſineſs of thoſe that are
oncerned in them than I am, and
ith other Deſign than that alone
vering and clearing Truth: But
any Man may deduce from it
ſes of the ſeveral Revolutions
find upon Record to have hap-
the Governments of the World.

Except ſuch as have been brought
bout by the unreſiſtible force and
queſts of ſome Nations over oth
whom they very much ſurmounted
Strength, Courage, and Numbers:
the brave, long, and almoſt incred
Defences that have ſtill been made
thoſe Governments, which were ro
in the general affections, eſteem,
intereſts of the Nation; make it
probable that almoſt all the Conq
we read of have been made way
or in ſome meaſure facilitated,
aſſiſted by the weakneſs of the
quered Government, grown from
diſeſteem, diſſatisfaction, or indiff
cy of the People; or from thoſe
ous and effeminate Conſtitutions o
dy and Mind among them, which
grow up in the corrupt Air of a
or looſe, a vicious or a factious S
And ſuch can never be ſtrong i
Hearts of the People; nor conſeq
ly firm upon that which is the
bottom of all Governments i
World.

Thus the ſmall *Athenian* Sta
fiſted with ſucceſs the vaſt Powe
Forces of the *Perſians* in the ti

M

des and *Themiſtocles*; *Rome* thoſe
Gauls in the time of *Camillus*:
he vaſt Armies collected from
Spain, and the greateſt part of
in the *Carthaginian* Wars (under
nduct of ſeveral great Captains;
iefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*:) The
rincipality of *Epire* was invinci-
the whole power of the *Turks*
ee ſeveral Invaſions under their
Caſtriot (commonly called *Scan-*
) The Kingdom of *Leon* and
by all the Wars of the *Moors*
cens for many Ages: The State
ice, by thoſe of the *Turks*: The
s, by the Power of the Empe-
And the *Hollanders* by that of
Becauſe in all theſe Wars the
were both united and ſpirited
common love of their Country,
iberty, or Religion; Or by the
particular eſteem and love of
rinces and Leaders.
e Conqueſt of the *Lydians* by
and the *Perſians* by *Alexander*;
great *Aſian* and *Egyptian* Kings
Roman State, and of all the *Ro-*
vinces by the ſeveral Northern
hey were uſually called, Barba-
rous)

rous) Nations; of the *Spaniards* by
Moors; the *Gauls* by the *Franks*;
of our ancient *Britains* by the *Sax*
It is eaſie and obvious to obſerve
the Reſiſtances where rendered
and weak; either by the ſoft and
minate Diſpoſitions of the People gr
up under the Eaſineſs, or Example
vicious or luxurious Princes, w
they neither honour nor willintgly
Or elſe by the common hatred
diſdain of their preſent Servitude, w
they were content to change for
other that came in their way
laſtly, by the Diſtracted Factions
diſcontented Nation, who agre
no one common Deſign or Defe
nor under any Authority grou
upon the general Love or Eſteem
the People.

Of Inſtability and Changes o
vernment arrived by narrowing
Bottoms, which are the conſent or
currence of the Peoples Affections
Intereſts, all Stories and Ages afford
tinual Examples. From hence pro
ed the frequent Tumults, Seditions
Alterations in the Commonweal
Athens and *Rome*, as often as eith

rms of Orators, or the Sway of
own to unuſual Power and Ri-
he Governments were engaged
nſels or Actions contrary to the
Intereſts of the People. Hence
ral violent Changes that have
in the Races or Perſons of the
of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*:
s the Force hereof appeared
ere more viſible than in *France*,
the Reign of *Henry* the Third,
conſtant Succeſſion of Minions
were then called) where all
ducted by the private Paſſions,
s, and Intereſts of a few Per-
ble Confidence with the King,
to thoſe more publick, and
f the People; till he came to
ſt all Eſteem, afterwards obe-
nd at laſt his Life in the Trou-
n him by the League.

Government was in the ſame
expoſed to the Dominion of
g Favourites, during the Re-
the Queen Mother in the Mi-
Lewis the 13*th*, which occa-
rpetual Commotions in that
changes of the Miniſtery; and
tainly have produced thoſe

in

in the Government too; if *Rich* having gained the abſolute aſcend in that *Court*, had not engaged in deſigns at firſt of a War upon the *gonots*, and after that was ended, *Spain*; In both which he fell in the currant humour and diſpoſi of the People; which with the pr rous ſucceſſes of both thoſe Ente ſes, helped to bear up him and the vernment, againſt all the hatred continual Practices of the great o the Kingdom.

But the two freſheſt Examples be drawn from the revolutions o *land* in the Year Sixty and of *land* in Seventy two. In the firſt, uſurped powers that had either d ed no Root or at leaſt drawn no only in the Affections and Inter thoſe that were engaged with t vernment; thought themſelves in the Strength of an unfoiled of above Sixty thouſand Men, a Revenue proportionable, raiſed awe of their Forces, though w mock-forms of Legal Supplies b tended Parliaments: Yet we ſaw forced to give way to the be

t Humour of the People, in fa-
f their Ancient and Lawful Go-
ent; and this mighty Army of
len loſe their Heart and their
th, abandon what they had ſo
alled their Cauſe and their In-
and content themſelves to be
d again into the Maſs of the
; and by conſpiring with the
humour of the Nation, make
r the King's glorious Reſtaura-
ithout a drop of Blood drawn,
nd of a Quarrel the beginning
urſe whereof had been ſo fatal
Kingdom.

he other in *Holland*, the conſti-
of their Government had con-
Twenty Years in the hands of
opular Magiſtrates, after the ex-
or intermiſſion of the Authori-
he Houſe of *Orange*, upon the
f the laſt Prince, and Infancy
The chief direction of their
had for Eighteen Years lain con-
in the hands of their Penſioner
a Miniſter of the greateſt Au-
and Sufficiency, the greateſt
ion and induſtry that was ever
n their State. In the courſe of
his

his Miniſtry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the civil Charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army out of the Hands of Perſons affectionate to the Houſe of *Orange*, into thoſe eſteemed ſure and faſt to the Intereſts of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for ſo long a Courſe of Years with the perpetual Succeſs of their Affairs, by the Growth of their Trade, Riches and Power at home, and the Conſideration of their Neighbours abroad: Yet the general Humour of kindneſs in the People to their old Form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, ſo as to raiſe the Proſpect of ſome unavoidable Revolutions among them for ſeveral Years before it arrived. And we have ſeen it grow to that Heighth in this preſent Year, upon the Princes coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the time aſſigned him by their Conſtitutions for his entring upon the publick Charges of their *Militia*) that though it had found them in Peace, it muſt have occaſioned ſome vio-

1672.

violent ſedition in their State: But meeting with the conjuncture of a Foreign Invaſion, it broke out into ſo furious a rage of the People, and ſuch general Tumults through the whole Country, as ended in the Blood of their chief Miniſters: In the diſplacing all that were ſuſpected to be of their Party throughout the Government; In the full reſtitution of the Prince's Authority, to the higheſt Point any of his Anceſtors ever enjoyed: But withal, in ſuch a diſtraction of their Councils, and their Actions, as made way for the eaſie ſucceſſes of the *French* Invaſion; for the loſs of almoſt Five of their Provinces in Two Months time, and for the general Preſages of utter ruine to their State.

A N

Dublin, July 22. 1673.

AN ESSAY UPON THE Advancement of TRADE IN IRELAND.

Written to the Earl of Eſſex, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

My LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into diſcourſe t'other day, and gave your Excellency the occaſion of deſiring me to di- ſt into ſome Method, and upon Pa- r, the Means and Ways I eſteemed

moſt proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with Expreſſions too obliging to be refuſed, and out of a deſign ſo publick and generous, as ought not to be diſcouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordſhip in this Point, how ill ſoever I do it, than excuſe my ſelf, tho' never ſo well; which were much eaſier than the other. For I might alledge that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Country: That I have paſſed only one ſhort Period of my Life here, and the greateſt part thereof wholly out of Buſineſs and publick Thoughts: That I have ſince been Ten Years abſent from it; and am now here upon no other occaſion than of a ſhort Viſit to ſome of my Friends: Which are all Circumſtances that make me a very improper Subject for ſuch a Command. But I ſuppoſe the vein I have had of running into Speculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a Stranger; and the too partial Favour your Lordſhip has expreſt to another Diſcourſe of this nature, have

co

coſt me this preſent Service; and you have thought fit to puniſh me for one Folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confeſſor, that preſcribed a Drunkard the Penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordſhip ſhall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excuſed; which is all I pretend to upon this occaſion.

Before I enter upon the Conſiderations of Trade, which are more general, and may be more laſting in this Kingdom, I will obſerve to your Lordſhip ſome particular Circumſtances in the Conſtitution and Government, which have been hitherto, and may be among the great Diſcourages of Trade and Riches here; and ſome others in the preſent Conjuncture, which are abſolutely mortal to it; that ſo you may not expect to find Remedies where indeed there is none; nor ſuffer Men, like buſie ignorant Phyſicians, to apply ſuch as are contrary to the Diſeaſe, becauſe they cannot find ſuch as are proper for it.

The true and natural Ground of Trade and Riches, is number of People, in proportion to the compaſs of

Ground they inhabit. This makes all things neceſſary to life dear, and that forces Men to induſtry and parſimony. Theſe Cuſtoms which grow firſt from neceſſity, come with time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are ſo, that place muſt grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not diſturbed by ſome accidents or revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either ſcattered or deſtroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the temper of the Climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long-life. Or elſe by the circumſtances of ſafety and eaſe under the Government, the credit whereof invites Men over to it, when they cannot be either ſafe or eaſie at home. When things are once in motion, Trade begets Trade, as Fire does Fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So Men run ſtill to a Crowd where they ſee it in the Streets, or the Fields, though it be only to do as others do, to ſee or to be entertained.

The want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of People; and this

is not grown from any ill qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of ſo many Wars and Rebellions, ſo great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at ſeveral Intervals of time ſucceeded the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's Time, unill the Year 1653. Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, hoſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and he laſt; which helped to drain the urrant ſtream of Generation in the Country.

began in 1154

Conqueeth Ireland Henry in 16

The diſcredit which is grown upon he Conſtitutions or Settlements of his Kingdom, by ſo frequent and unappy Revolutions that for many Ages ave inveſted it, has been the great diſouragement to other Nations to tranſlant themſelves hither, and prevailed rther than all the Invitations which he Cheapneſs and Plenty of the Counry has made them. So that had it ot been for the numbers of the *Briſh*, which the neceſſity of the late Vars at firſt drew over, and of ſuch ho either as Adventurers or Soldiers ated themſelves here upon account of

the ſatisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the laſt War and Plague been left in a manner deſolate.

Beſides the Subordinacy of the Government changing Hands ſo often, makes an unſteadineſs in the purſuit of the publick Intereſts of the Kingdom, gives way to the Emulations of the different Factions, and draws the Favour or Countenance of the Government ſometimes to one Party or Intereſt, ſometimes to another: This makes different Motions in Mens Minds, raiſing Hopes and Fears, and Opinions of uncertainty in their Poſſeſſions; and thereby in the Peace of the Country.

This Subordinacy in the Government, and emulation of Parties, with the want ſometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the weakneſs of his Credit and Support at Court) occaſions the perpetual Agencies or Journies into *England* of all Perſons that have any conſiderable Pretences in *Ireland*, and Money to purſue them; which end many times in long Abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though

though they have no money to ſupport them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Beſides, the young Gentlemen go of courſe for their Breeding there; ſome ſeek their Health, and others their Entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: By theſe means the Country loſes the expence of many of the richeſt Perſons or Families at home. and mighty ſums of Money muſt needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great Stock of rich Native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

Theſe Circumſtances ſo prejudicial to the encreaſe of Trade and Riches in a Country, ſeem natural, or at leaſt have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native Fertilty of the Soil and Seas in ſo many rich Commodities improved by multitude of People and Induſtry, with the advantage of ſo many excellent Haens, and a Situation ſo commodious or all ſorts of Foreign Trade, muſt needs have rendred this Kingdom one of the richeſt in *Europe*, and made a mighty encreaſe both of Strength and Revenue to the Crown of *England*;

whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak-side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than 'tis worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but I doubt very just complaint concerning the scarcity of Money; which occasioned many airy Propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the Coyns here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made as they say about the Duke of *Ormond's* coming first over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raised three Pence in the Piece, and a mighty plenty of Money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the Money to which it is by some great Men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity, which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all His Majesty's Kingdoms; then after two

years

years attendance in *England*, upon the ſettlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all perſons and parties here that were conſiderably intereſted in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main ſettlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond*'s Hands to paſs here into an Act; all perſons came over in a ſhoal, either to attend their own concernments in the main, or more particularly to make their Court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majeſty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and diſpoſition of all affairs in this Kingdom. This made a ſudden and mighty ſtop of that iſſue of Money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormond's* own great Patrimonial Eſtate, with that of ſeveral other Families that came over at that time, of ſmall conſideration in the ſtock of this Kingdom. Beſides, there was a great ſum of Money in ready Coyn brought over out of *Engand* at the ſame time, towards the arrears of the Army: which are

all

all Circumſtances that muſt needs have made a mighty change in the courſe of ready Money here. All the Effect that I conceive was made by crying up the Pieces of eight, was to bring in much more of that Species in ſtead of others currant here, (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that ſort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worſe Allay,) and to carry away much *Engliſh* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty loſs to the Kingdom in the intrinſick Value of their Money.

The Circumſtances at this time ſeem to be juſt the reverſe of what they were then: The Nation's engaged in a War the moſt fatal to Trade of any that could ariſe: The Settlement of *Ireland* ſhaken at the Court, and falling into new Diſquiſitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a caſe:) This draws continual Agencies and Journies of People concerned into *England*, to watch the Motions of the main Wheel there. Beſides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* ſince the Duke of *Ormond's* time,

ime have had little in their diſpoſi-
ion here, and only executed the Re-
olutions daily taken at Court in par-
icular as well as general Affairs;
hich has drawn thither the atten-
ance of all private Pretenders. The
reat Eſtates of this Kingdom have
een four or five Years conſtantly
ent in *England*. Money, in ſtead
f coming over hither for pay of the
rmy, has, ſince the War began, been
anſmitted thither for pay of thoſe
orces that were called from hence.
nd laſtly, This War has had a more
articular and mortal influence upon
e Trade of this Country, than upon
y other of His Majeſty's Kingdoms.

For by the Act againſt Tranſporta-
on of Cattel into *England*, The Trade
f this Country which ran wholly
ither before, was turned very much
to Foreign Parts; but by this War
e laſt is ſtopped, and the other not
eing opened, there is in a manner no
ent for any Commodity but of Wool.
his neceſſity has forced the Kingdom
go on ſtill with their Foreign Trade;
ut that has been with ſuch mighty Loſ-
s by the great number of *Dutch* Pri-

vateers

vateers plying about the Coasts, and the want of *English* Frigates to secure them, that the Stock of the Kingdom must be extreamly diminished. Yet by the continuance of the same Expence and Luxury in point of Living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what must supply it, though little Commodities goes either there or abroad to make any considerable balance: By all which it must happen, that with another Years continuance of the War there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any Circulation further than the Receipts of the Customs and Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a Conjuncture, the crying up of any Species of Money will but encrease the want of it in general; for while there goes not out Commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no degree of Gains by exportation will make amends for the Venture; what should Money come in for, unless it be to carry out other Money as it did before, and leave the Stock that re-

emains equal indeed in denomination, ut lower in the intrinſick value than was before? In ſhort, while this Var laſts, and our Seas are ill guarded, l that can be done towards preſer-ing the ſmall remainder of Money in his Kingdom, is, Firſt, To introduce far as can be, a Vein of Parſimony roughout the Country in all things at are not perfectly the Native rowths and Manufactures: Then by verity and ſteadineſs of the Go-ernment (as far as will be permit-d) to keep up in ſome credit the reſent Peace and Settlement: And ſtly, to force Men to a degree of duſtry, by ſuffering none to hope at they ſhall be able to live by apine or Fraud. For in ſome Diſ-ſes of a Civil as well as a Natural ody, all that can be done is to faſt d to reſt, to watch and to pre-nt Accidents, to truſt to Methods ther than Medicines or Remedies; d with patience to expect till the umours being ſpent, and the *Criſis* ſt, way may be made for the na-ral Returns of Health and of rength.

This

This being premiſed as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the preſent conjuncture; I ſhall proceed to ſuch Obſervations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and ſtanding Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a Country ariſes from the native growths of the Soil or Seas; the Manufactures, the commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping which belong to it. The Improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland* muſt be conſidered in the ſurvey of all theſe Particulars, the Defects, to which at preſent they are ſubject, and the Encreaſes they are capable of receiving either from the courſe of Time, the change of Cuſtoms, or the conduct and application of the Government.

The native Commodities or common eaſie Manufactures which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and conſequently furniſh both the Stock of Foreign Commodities conſumed in the Country, and that likewiſe of current Money, by which all Trade is turned, are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattel, Fiſh, Iron; and by the improvement

of theſe, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* ſeems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one thing muſt be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the nature of its Government, ſo in the very improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be conſidered not only in its own proper intereſt, but likewiſe in its relation to *England*, to which it is ſubordinate, and upon whoſe weal in the main, that of this Kingdom depends, and therefore a regard muſt be had of thoſe points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the Trade of *England*; in which caſes the encouragement of ſuch Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the intereſt of Trade in *England*, upon the health and vigour whereof, the ſtrength, riches and glory of his Majeſties Crowns ſeem chiefly to depend. But on the other ſide, ſome ſuch branches of Trade ought not wholly to be ſuppreſt, but rather ſo far admitted as may ſerve the general

ral conſumption of this Kingdom, leſt by too great an importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it ſelf, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in ſuch a degree, as not to leave a ſtock ſufficient for turning the Trade at home; the effect hereof would be general diſcontents among the People, complaints, or at leaſt ill impreſſions of the Government; which in a Country compoſed of Three ſeveral Nations different to a great degree in Language, Cuſtoms and Religion, as well as Intereſts (both of property and dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it ſelf. Since a ſore in the Leg may affect the whole Body, and in time grow as difficult a cure as if it were in the Head; eſpecially were Humours abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* ſeems not to be capable of any encreaſe, nor to ſuffer under any defect, the Country being generally full ſtockt with Sheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little ſubject to other Rots than of Hunger; and all the conſiderable flocks being of *Engliſh* breed, and the ſtaple of Wool gene-

generally equal with that of *Northamp-*
ton or *Leiceſterſhire*, the Improvement
of this Commodity by Manufactures
in this Kingdom, would give ſo great a
Damp to the Trade of *England* (of
which Clothes, Stuffs and Stockings
make ſo mighty a part) that it ſeems
not fit to be incouraged here, at leaſt
ſo further than to ſuch a Quantity of
one or two Summer-ſtuffs, *Iriſh* Freeze,
and Cloth from ſix Shillings to Four-
teen, as may ſupply in ſome Meaſure
the ordinary conſumption of the King-
dom. That which ſeems moſt neceſſary
in this Branch, is the careful and ſevere
execution of the Statutes, provided to
forbid the Exportation of Wooll to
any other parts but to *England*; which
is the more to be watched and feared,
ſince thereby the preſent Riches of this
Kingdom would be mightily increaſed,
and great Advantages might be made
by the connivance of Governours;
whereas on the other ſide, this would
prove a moſt ſenſible Decay, if not
deſtruction of Manufactures both here
and in *England* it ſelf.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper
for this Country, but made in no great

quantities in any parts beſides the North nor any where into Linen to any great Degree, or of ſorts fit for the better uſes at home, or exportation abroad; though of all others, this ought moſt to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly deſigned by the Earl of *Stafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, anſwerable to the care uſed in choice of Seed and exerciſe of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not ſo for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little Toil or Application, and ſo the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Beſides, no Women are apter to ſpin it well than the *Iriſh*, who labouring little in any kind with their Hands, have their Fingers more ſupple and ſoft than other Women of the poorer Condition among us; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linen, ſo as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to thoſe Parts upon this Occaſion, into the Hands of His Majeſty's Subjects of *Ireland*, without croſſing

any

any Intereſt of Trade in *England*. For beſides what has been ſaid of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the Frequency of Brooks, and alſo of Winds in the Country.

Much Care was ſpent upon this Deſign in an Act of Parliament paſs'd the laſt Seſſion, and ſomething may have been advanced by it; but the too great Rigor impoſed upon the ſowing of certain Quantities of Flax, has cauſed (and perhaps juſtly) a general Neglect in the Execution; and common guilt has made the Penalties impracticable; ſo as the main effect has been ſpoiled by too much Diligence, and the Child killed with Kindneſs. For the Money apply-d by that Act to the Encouragement of making fine Linen, and broad, (which I think is twenty Pounds every Year in each County), though the Inſtitution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any conſiderable Application that way; ſo that ſometimes one ſhare of that Money is paid to a ſingle Pretender at the Sizes or Seſſions; and ſometimes a ſhare is ſaved, for want of any Pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by ſome Amendments to the laſt Act in another Seſſion, whereby the neceſſity of ſowing Flax may be ſo limited, as to be made eaſily practicable, and ſo may be forced by the Severity of levying the Penalties enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties no Perſon ought to carry the firſt, ſecond, or third Price, without producing two Pieces of Linen of each ſort (whereas one only now is neceſſary). And ſevere Defences may be made againſt Weaving any Linen under a certain breadth, ſuch as may be of better uſe to the pooreſt People, and in the courſeſt Linen, than the narrow *Iriſh* Cloth; and may bear ſome Price abroad, when ever more comes to be made than is conſumed at home. But after all theſe or ſuch like Proviſions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary Advance in this Branch of Trade, and thoſe are Firſt, An increaſe of People in the Country to ſuch a degree as may make things neceſſary to Life dear, and thereby force general Induſtry from each Member of a Family (Women as well as Men)

and in as many ſorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to turn the Vein this way. The ſecond is a particular Application in the Government. And this muſt be made either by ſome Governour upon his own private Account, who has a great ſtock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the Gain, or elſe by the Honour of bringing to paſs a Work of ſo much publick Utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which Circumſtances I ſuppoſe concurr'd both in the Earl of *Strafford*'s Deſign); and whenever they meet again, can have no better Copy to follow in all Particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or elſe by a conſiderable Sum of Money being laid aſide, either out of His Majeſty's present Revenue, or ſome future Subſidy to be granted for this Occaſion: And this either to be imployed in ſetting up of ſome great Linen Manufacture in ſome certain Place, and to be managed by ſome certain Hands both for making all ſorts of fine Clothes, and of thoſe for Sails too. The benefit or uſe of ſuch a Trade accruing to the

Government, until it comes to take Root in the Nation. Or elſe if this ſeem too great an Undertaking for the Humour of our Age, then ſuch a Sum of Money to lie ready in Hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate Prizes all ſuch Pieces of Cloth as ſhall be brought in by any Perſons at certain times to the chief Town of each County; and all ſuch pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the Stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the uſe of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Cloaths are) in part of their Pay: And all finer pieces to be ſold, and the Money ſtill applied to the encreaſe or conſtant ſupply of the main Stock. The Effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, ſo uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn ſo much of their Induſtry this way, as would ſerve to furniſh a great part of that Money, which is moſt abſolutely neceſſary for Payment of Taxes, Rents, or ſubſiſtence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, ariſe all from

from one ſort of Cattle, and are ſubject to the ſame general Defects, and capable of the ſame common Improvements.

The three firſt are certain Commodities, and yield the readieſt Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, becauſe they never fail of a Price abroad. Beef is a Drug, finding no conſtant Vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: For the Conſumption of the Kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is uſually made of Cattle in it; ſo that in many parts at this time an Ox may be bought in the Country-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow ſold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it coſt. The Defects of theſe Commodities lie either in the Age and feeding of the Cattle that are killed, or in the Manufacture, and making them up for Exportation abroad.

Until the Tranſportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickeſt Trade for ready Money here, was driven by the Sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-Months of the

Year were carried over in very great Numbers, and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that ſort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than ſerved the Conſumption within: And few Oxen for Draught, which was all performed by raſcally ſmall Horſes; ſo as the Cattle generally ſold either for Slaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at beſt four Years old, and thoſe ſuch as had never been either handled or wintered at hand meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long Graſs of the lower Lands in the Winter. The Effect hereof was very pernitious to this Kingdom in what concerned all theſe Commodities; The Hides were ſmall, thin and lank: The Tallow much leſs in quantity, and of quicker conſumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that diſcredited by the Houſewifery of the *Iriſh*, in making it up; moſt of what was ſent coming from their Hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, becauſe the breed of their Cattel was not fit for the *Engliſh*

liſh Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for Foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almoſt ſunk: For the Fleſh being young, and only Graſs-fed (and that on a ſudden by the Sweetneſs of the Summers Paſture, after the Cattle being almoſt ſtarved in the Winter) was thin, light and moiſt, and not of a Subſtance to endure the Salt, or be preſerved by it, for long Voyages, or a ſlow Conſumption. Beſides, either the Unskilfulneſs, or Careleſneſs, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the undervalue and diſcredit of theſe Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increaſed the Weight, by which that Commodity is ſold when it comes in quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrel, than in the middle, which would be ſometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, ſometimes with Stones. The Beef would be ſo ill choſen, or ſo ill cured, as to ſtink many times before it came ſo far as *Holland*, or at leaſt not prove a Commodity that would defray the firſt charge of the Merchant before it was ſhipt.

ſhipt. Nay I have known Merchants there fain to throw away great Quantities, after having lain long in their Hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly ſtopt the Tranſportation of Cattle, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, becauſe Wooll gave ready Money for the *Engliſh* Markets, and by ſtealth for thoſe Abroad. The Breeders of *Engliſh* Cattle turn'd much to Dairy, or elſe by keeping their Cattle to ſix and ſeven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-trade abroad; and ſome of the Merchants fell into care and Exactneſs in Barrelling them up; and hereby the Improvements of this Trade were grown ſo ſenſible in the courſe of a few Years, that in the Year 1669, ſome Merchants in *Holland* aſſured me, that they had received Parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which ſold current, and very near the *Engliſh*; and of Butter which ſold beyond it; and that they had obſerved it ſpent as if it came from the richer Soil of the two. 'Tis moſt evident, that if the *Dutch* War

War had not broken out ſo ſoon after the Improvements of all theſe Trades (forced at firſt by Neceſſity, and growing afterwards habitual by uſe), a few Years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great Gainer, inſtead of loſing by the Act againſt Tranſportation of their Cattle: But the War gave a ſudden Damp to this and all other Trade, which is ſunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the Defects that were even in time of Peace, it may not be uſeleſs to ſet down the Remedies though little practicable while the War laſts. For that great one of killing Cattle young, and only Graſs-fed, I know none ſo effectual as introducing a general Cuſtom of uſing Oxen for all ſorts of Draught, which would be perhaps the greateſt Improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great Slaughter would be made of full-grown, large and well-wintered Cattle, which would double the Income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raiſe their Credit in all foreign Markets;

kets, every Man would be forced to provide Winter-Fodder for his Team (whereas common Garrans ſhift upon Graſs the Year round); and this would force Men to the encloſing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the Race of Garrans would decreaſe, and ſo make room for the Countries maintaining the greater Number of Cattle, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by accident or Age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or uſeful thing is to be atchieved, without Difficulties; and therefore what may be raiſed againſt this Propoſal, ought not to diſcourage the attempting it. Firſt, the Statutes againſt that barbarous cuſtom of Plowing by the Tail, ought to be renewed, and upon abſolute Forfeitures inſtead of Penalties; the conſtant and eaſie compoſitions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly diſuſed, the Harneſs for Horſes being dearer than for Oxen, the *Iriſh* would turn their Draught to the laſt, where-ever they have hitherto uſed the Plowing by the Tail.

Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horſe ſhould be uſed for Draught; this would not only enlarge the breed of Horſes, but make way for the uſe of Oxen, becauſe they would be cheaper kept than large good Horſes, which could not be wintered like Garrans, without houſing or fodder. And laſtly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horſe of Draught throughout the Kingdom; which beſides the main uſe here intended, would increaſe the King's Revenue, by one of the eaſieſt ways that is any where in uſe.

For the Miſcarriages mentioned in the making up of thoſe ſeveral Commodities for Foreign Markets, they muſt likewiſe be remedied by ſevere Laws, or elſe the Improvements of the Commodities themſelves will not ſerve to bring them in Credit, upon which all Trade turns. Firſt the Ports out of which ſuch Commodities ſhall be ſhipt, may by reſtrained to a certain Number, ſuch as lie moſt convenient for the Vent of the Inland Provinces, and ſuch as either are already, or are capable of being made regular Corporations. Whatever of them ſhall be carried

carried out of any other Port, ſhall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Maſter that receives them. In the Ports allowed ſhall be publiſhed Rules agreed on by the skilfulleſt Merchants in thoſe Wares, to be obſerved in the making up of all ſuch as are intended for foreign Tranſportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to thoſe Rules, ſhall not be ſuffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be choſen every three Years, by the Body of the Corporation, whoſe Buſineſs ſhall be to inſpect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the Seal, or Mark of the Corporation, without which none ſhall be ſuffer'd to go abroad; Nor ſhall this Mark be affixed to any Parcels by thoſe Officers, but ſuch as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the Rules ſet forth for that purpoſe. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the ſame conſtant Weight, or ſomething over. If this were obſerved for a ſmall courſe of time, under any certain Marks, the Credit of them both as to Quality and Weight, would

would riſe to that Degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they uſed abroad, upon ſight of the Mark, like Silver-plate upon ſight of the City's Mark where 'tis made.

The great Difficulty will lie in the good Execution of the Offices: but the intereſt of ſuch Corporations lying ſo deep in the Credit of their Mark, will make Emulation among them, every one vying to raiſe their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of Men, fit for that turn. Beſides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good Degree, by a certain Fee upon every Seal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every Miſcarriage of the Officer, which ſhall be judged ſo by the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the Body of the Corporation.

Cattle for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horſes; and of one or other of theſe kinds the Country ſeems to be full-ſtockt, no ground that I hear of being untenanted: The two firſt ſeem ſufficiently improved in the kinds

as

as well as the Number, moſt of both being of the *Engliſh* breed. And though it were better for the Country, if the Number of Horſes being leſſened, made Room for that of encreaſing Sheep, and great Cartel; yet it ſeems indifferent which of theſe two were moſt turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the Liberty or reſtraint of carrying live Cattel into *England*. When the Paſſage is open, Land will be turned moſt to great Cattel; when ſhut to Sheep, as it is at preſent; though I am not of Opinion it can laſt, becauſe that Act ſeems to have been carried on rather by the Intereſts of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my Opinion muſt be evidently a Loſer by it. For firſt, the freight of all Cattel that were brought over, being in *Engliſh* Veſſels, was ſo much clear gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at leaſt a fourth Part of the Price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the firſt Market, made them double the Price by one Years feeding; which was the greateſt Improvement to be made of our dry Pa-

ſture-

ture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or elſe of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in foreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. The young *Iriſh* Cattle ſerved for the common conſumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattle went into the Barrel for the foreign Trade, in which *Iriſh* Beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this reſtraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to ſhare with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *Engliſh* Butter, which will be extreamly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the way of *Engliſh* Huſwifery, as it has done a great deal ſince the reſtraint upon Cattle.) And laſtly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted; By this reſtraint they are forced to ſeek a foreign Market; and

where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amſterdam*, *Lisbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true cauſes of the decay of Rents in *England*, which made the occaſion of that Act, they were to be found in the want of People, in the mighty conſumption of foreign Commodities among the better ſort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattle; which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Beſides, the Rents have been far from encreaſing ſince, and though that may be by other accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unleſs Wooll be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the leſs Cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more Wooll, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the price of Paſture-lands in *England*; and yet the Tranſportation of Wooll cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* wool

Wooll, either by ſtealth into Foreign Markets, or elſe in Cloth by the advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a ſudden decay upon the Principal Branch of the *Engliſh* Trade.

Horſes in *Ireland* are a Drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater uſe at home, but alſo fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a ſweet and plentiful Graſs, which will raiſe a large breed; and the Hills, eſpecially near the Sea-coaſts, are hard and rough, and ſo fit to give them Shape and Breath, and ſound Feet. The preſent defects in them, are breeding without choice of Stallions either in Shape or Size, and truſting ſo far to the gentleneſs of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four Years Old: This both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable ſhyneſs, which is the general vice of *Iriſh* Horſes, and is hardly ever ſeen in *Flanders*, becauſe the hardneſs of the Winters in thoſe Parts forces the Breeders there to houſe and handle their Colts for at

leaſt Six Months every Year. In the Studs of Perſons of Quality in *Ireland*, where care is taken, and coſt is not ſpared, we ſee Horſes bred of excellent ſhape, and vigour, and ſize, ſo as to reach great prices at home, and encourage Strangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that Errand, and bought about twenty Horſes to carry over into the *French* Army, from Twenty to Threeſcore Pounds price at the firſt hand.

The improvement of Horſes here may be made by a Standard preſcribed to all Stalions, and all Horſes that ſhall be uſed for draught; the main Point being to make the common Breed large, for then whether they have ſhape or no, they have ever ſome reaſonable price both at home and abroad. And beſides, being not to be raiſed without wintering, they will help to force Men into improvement of Land by a neceſſity of Fodder. But for incouragement of finer Breed, and in the better Hands, ſome other Inſtitutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raiſed among the Breeders by a pro-

ſpect both of particular Honour and Profit to thoſe who ſucceed beſt, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to ſuch as by aiming at the beſt, tho' they fail, yet go beyond the common ſorts. To this purpoſe there may be ſet up both a Horſe-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain time every Year for the ſpace of a Week; the firſt in the faireſt Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that place deſigned by your Lordſhip in the Park for ſome ſuch purpoſe. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*, may be the Races; the *Tueſday*, *Thurſday*, and *Saturday*, the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be Two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty, (beſides the faſhion) as the Prizes for the firſt and ſecond Horſe; the firſt Engraven with a Horſe Crowned with a Crown; the ſecond with a Coronet, and under it the day of the Month, and the Year. Beſides theſe Plates, the Wagers may be as the Perſons pleaſe among themſelves, but the Horſes muſt be evidenced by good Teſtimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the

Lord Lieutenant may ever be preſent himſelf, or at leaſt name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the Field, who ſhall decide all Controverſies, and with ſound of the Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Maſters of theſe two Horſes may be admitted to ride from the Field, to the Caſtle with the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to Dine with him that Day, and there receive all the honour of the Table. This to be done, what quality ſoever the Perſons are of: for the lower that is, the more will be the Honour; and perhaps the more the ſport: and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all ſorts of Men.

For the Fairs, the Lord Lieutenant may likewiſe be preſent every day in the heighth of them, by himſelf or Deputy, and may with the advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then preſent, chooſe out one of the beſt Horſes, and two of the beſt Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, not above ſeven years old. For which ſhall be paid to the owners of them, after ſufficient Teſtimony of their being

ing bred in *Ireland*, One hundred pounds for the Horſe, and fifty pounds a piece for the Geldings. Theſe Sums, as that for the Plates, to iſſue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three Horſes to be ſent over every year to the King's Stables. Both thoſe that won the Plate, and thoſe which are thus ſold, ought immediately to be marked, ſo as they may never return a ſecond time, either to the Race, or to the Sale.

The benefit by ſuch an Inſtitution as this, will be very great and various: For beſides the encouragement to breed the beſt Horſes, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a ſort of publick entertainment for one whole Week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both Civil and Military, ought to keep open Tables for all ſtrangers. This will draw a confluence of People from all parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer Parts of *England* may come, not only as to a publick kind of ſolemnity, but as to a great Mart of the beſt Horſes. This

will inrich the City by the expence of ſuch a concourſe, and the Country by the ſale of many Horſes into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign Parts. This will make general Acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more perſonally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatneſs, and with more ſolemnity than uſual upon theſe Occaſions. And all this with expence only of Two hundred and fifty Pounds a year to the Crown, for which the King ſhall have three the beſt Horſes ſold that year in *Ireland*.

The Fiſhing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under Water, as rich as any under Ground, if it were improved to thoſe vaſt advantages it is capable of, and that we ſee it raiſed to in other Countries. But this is impoſſible under ſo great a want of People, and cheapneſs of all things neceſſary to Life throughout the Country, which are in all Places invincible Enemies of induſtry and improvements. While theſe continue, I know no way of advancing

cing this Trade to any conſiderable degree, unleſs it be the erecting four Companies of Fiſhery, one of each Province of *Ireland*, into which every Man that enters, ſhall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable ſhare of the gain or loſs, and have a proportional Voice in the Election of a Preſident and Council, by whom the whole buſineſs in each Province ſhall be managed. If into each of theſe Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a conſiderable ſhare at the firſt, towards building ſuch a number of Boats and Buſſes as each Company could eaſily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain Priviledges likewiſe, or Immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay from Taxes, and all unuſual Payments to the Publick, in favour of ſuch as brought in a proportion to a certain heighth into the Stock of the Fiſhery. Nay, it ſeems a Matter of ſo great importance to His Majeſties Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and imparing the mighty Gains of his Neighbours

by

by this Trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an Act were made, by which none ſhould be capable of being either choſen into a Parliament, or the Commiſſion of the Peace, who had not manifeſted his deſires of advancing the publick good by entring in ſome certain proportion into the Stock and Companies of the Fiſhery; ſince the greatneſs of the one, and application of the other, ſeem the only preſent means of improving ſo rich and ſo important a Trade. It will afterwards be the buſineſs of the Companies themſelves, or their directors, to fall into the beſt Methods and Rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fiſh, and to ſee them ſo exactly obſerved, as may bring all thoſe quantities of them that ſhall be ſent abroad, or ſpent at home, into the higheſt and moſt general credit; which with advancing the Seaſons all that can be, ſo as to find the firſt foreign Markets, will be a way to the greateſt and ſureſt Gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placaets or Acts of State concerning the curing, ſalting, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with ſuch

everity in the Impoſition and execu-
ion of Penalties, that the buſineſs is
ow grown to an habitual skill, and
are, and honeſty, ſo as hardly any
Example is ſeen of failing in that Mat-
er, or thereby impairing the gene-
al Credit of that Commodity among
hem, or in the Foreign Markets they
ſe.

Iron ſeems to me the Manufacture
hat of all others ought the leaſt to be
ncouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be,
hich requires the moſt reſtriction to
ertain Places and Rules. For I do not
emember to have heard that there is
ny Oar in *Ireland*, at leaſt I am ſure
he greateſt part is fetched from *Eng-*
nd; ſo that all this Country affords
f its own growth towards this Manu-
cture, is but the Wood, which has
et but with two great Conſumptions
ready in moſt parts of this Kingdom,
nd needs not this to deſtroy what is
ft. So that Iron-works ought to be
nfined to certain Places, where either
e Woods continue vaſt, and make the
ountry ſavage; or where they are
t at all fit for Timber, or likely to
ow to it; or where there is no con-
veyance;

veyance for Timber to places of vent ſo as to quit the coſt of the carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at firſt, as the grounds likewiſe of Trade in a Country; thoſe are the commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obſtruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Lemſter* to undertake. But whether it be feaſible, or at ſuch charges as will quit coſt I will not judge, eſpecially conſidering the many good Havens that are ſcattered upon that whole Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ireland*. Beſides this, I know not what to propoſe upon this Head, unleſs it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-weſt Coaſt, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *Weſt-Indies* Trade, and from thence thoſe Commodities

ities may be diſperſed unto all other Parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Cuſtoms which they ought to pay in *England*, where this muſt be converted.

For the laſt Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coaſt, and not wholly out of the way of Trade, which has ſo little ſhipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of imploying more. The reaſon of this muſt be in part the ſcarcity of Timber proper for ſhip built; but more the want of Merchants, and uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further deſtruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any Man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain height, unleſs it be of a certain ſcantling, as twelve Inches diameter, or ſome ſuch meaſure as uſually makes a Tree uſeful Timber. And further, the ſevereſt Penalties ought to be put upon barking any Tree that is not felled; a cuſtom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite quantities of Timber have been deſtroyed.

Moſt Traders in theſe Part, at leaſt of

of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The cauſe of this muſt be rather an ill opinion of ſecurity, than of gain; for thoſe are the two baits which draw Merchants to a Place: the laſt intices the poorer Traders, or the young beginners, or thoſe of paſſage; but without the firſt, the ſubſtantial and the rich will never ſettle in a Country. This opinion can be attained only by a courſe of Time, of good Conduct, and good Government, and thereby of Juſtice and of Peace, which lie out of the compaſs of this Diſcourſe. But to make ſome amends for this want at preſent, encouragement may be given to any Merchants that ſhall come over and turn a certain Stock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any Terms; freedom from Cuſtoms the two firſt Years, and from any Offices of trouble or expence the firſt ſeven Years. I ſee no hurt if the King ſhould give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland*, to name for each Town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant ſhould chuſe two to be of the Privy-

Council

Counil of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their attendance: This would be an honour and encouragement to ſo worthy a Calling, and would introduce an intereſt of Trade into the Council, which being now compoſed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers;the Traders ſeem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief Member in the Politick Body; and upon whoſe proſpering the Wealth of the whole Kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellencies trouble, and for the diſcharge of my promiſe, and too much I doubt for the humour of our Age to bring into practice, or ſo much as to admit into conſideration. Your Lordſhip I know has generous Thoughts, and turned to ſuch Speculations as theſe. But that is not enough towards the raiſing ſuch buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unleſs the direction of all Affairs here were wholly in your Hands, or at leaſt the Opinion loſt of other

Mens

Mens being able to conteſt with you thoſe Points of publick utility, which you ought beſt to know, and moſt to be believed in, while you deſerve or diſcharge ſo great a Truſt as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much conſider whom to chooſe for ſuch imployments; but when he has choſen, cannot truſt them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too ſoon, whenever he finds it abuſed. In ſhort, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whoſe Commands, find general obedience; and Examples imitation. For all other Men, they muſt take it as they find it; and good Men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being ſpoil'd themſelves, than upon hopes of mending the World. At leaſt, this opinion becomes Men of my level, amongſt whom I have obſerved all ſet-quarrels with the Age, and pretences of reforming it by their own Models, to end commonly like the pains of a Man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's faſt to a Ship; it looks as if he reſolved to draw the Ship to him, but

the truth and his meaning is, to draw himſelf to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the reſt of the Crew when he is there. When I have ſuch Deſigns, I will begin ſuch Contentions; in the mean time the bent of my Thoughts ſhall be rather to mend my ſelf, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor ſhould I have reaſon in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordſhip ſo much Juſtice, by the Honour of ſo great an Employment. In which as I know no Man deſerves greater Succeſſes than you do, ſo I am ſure no Man wiſhes you greater than I do.

Written to the

DUKE of *ORMOND*,

In *October*, 1673.

Upon His Graces desiring me to give Him my opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture.

THERE never was any Conjuncture wherein it was more neceſſary for His Majeſty to fall into a Courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to adviſe him. To make Reflections upon what is paſt, is the part of ingenious, but irreſolute Men, or elſe of ſuch as intend to value themſelves by compariſon with others whoſe Corruptions or Follies they condemn. But in all Matters of Counſel, the good and prudent

prudent part is to take things as they are (ſince the paſt cannot be recalled,) to propoſe Remedies for the preſent Evils, and Proviſions againſt future Events.

The King finds himſelf engaged in the ſecond Year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for proſecution thereof in a ſtrict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the Quarrel broken out upon this occaſion between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In this State of Affairs, it is to be conſidered whether we can purſue our War with *Holland*, and yet preſerve our Peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majeſty to do, with the beſt regard to his Honour and Safety.

For the firſt, we ſhall ſoon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late Conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* ſhould have obliged themſelves to make no Peace without the incluſion of their Allies; and that

Spain ſhould not have yielded to break with Us!, in caſe they could not effect a Peace between Us and *Holland*; ſince the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a Breach with *Spain*, and ſo great a loſs of Trade in thoſe Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an occaſion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has ever lien at their Hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early Meaſure between them for the ſurprize of that Iſland, unleſs our Care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we ſhould loſe it, I foreſee little hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon know from *Spain* what He is to truſt to in this point.

To judge whether upon a Breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, muſt be conſidered, the preſent State of the King's Treaſure, the riſe or fall that may happen in His conſtant Revenue

Revenue by the *Spaniſh* War, the Hopes that may be grounded upon Supplies from *France*, the aſſurance or meaſure of thoſe expected from the Parliament, the Credit of the Exchequer to raiſe preſent Money where-ever any of theſe fall ſhort, and the Humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the preſent State of the Treaſury, the King beſt knows it Himſelf, or His Officers can beſt give the Account; for the Changes that may happen in his Revenue, 'tis evident they muſt be much for the worſe the very firſt Year of a *Spaniſh* War. The main Branch of it, which is the Cuſtoms, muſt wither away in a very great meaſure, ſince all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any account) has been hat with *Spain* and into the *Streights*: he firſt upon a *Spaniſh* War will be wholly loſt; the laſt can neither be ecured by our own Convoys, nor by he *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, om the *Dutch* Capers that will fill he *Spaniſh* Havens, and from thoſe of *iſcay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Ma-*

jorca, which in all Wars have been the Neſts of Picaroons; ſo that no way ſeems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving of all Trade in the Nation while it laſts. But the Caſe is very different between them and us; for they have ſtill a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a ſandy Coaſt from *Hamborough*, is ſecured from our Fleets; and they have driven a great Commerce by Colluſion with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemiſh*, ever ſince the War began. Beſides the Hearts of their People (which would otherwiſe have ſunk by the loſs of Trade) have been kept up by the neceſſity of their defence, by the laſt extremities which were threatned them from the War, and by the general opinion of Juſtice in their Cauſe, both from theſe Circumſtances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impoſe, and the People to ſuffer the utmoſt Payments; and beſides, in a manner all Men of Fortunes among them have a great part of their Eſtates

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lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be loſt upon the Conqueſt of their Country, ſo as they will lend to the laſt for ſecuring ſo much as is already in danger. And theſe are Circumſtances which will not be found in our Diſpoſitions or Conſtitutions.

For Supplies from *France*, it muſt be conſidered how their Money has been drained out of the Kingdom ſince this War began, by their Payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Biſhops of *Cologn* and *Munſter*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new conqueſts in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as Money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the Money fell back again into the Circulation of their own Country; yet now their Expence muſt upon a *Spaniſh* War be increaſed by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; ſo that all theſe Circumſtances with the

general decay of Trade by the War, muſt in few Years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this Age, and where Money is not the King of *France* himſelf cannot have it.

For what ſupplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, ſome few days I ſuppoſe will inform us; and no Meaſures can be taken unleſs by what paſt in the former Seſſion, which was not very favourable to that Deſign.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at leaſt to any meaſure that may ſupply the Courſe of Neceſſities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably loſt by the laſt Breach with the Bankers; for Credit is gained by Cuſtom and Courſe of Time, and ſeldom recovers a Strain; but if broken, is never well ſet again. I have heard a great example given of this (by ſome of our Merchants) that happened upon the laſt King's ſeizing 200000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 38, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for ſeveral Years had been the Treaſury of all the vaſt Payments tranſmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this Invaſion of it, though

though the King paid back the Money within very few Months, yet the Mint has never ſince recovered its Credit a-mong Foreign Merchants.

If the Buſineſs of Money ſhould happen to go lame upon any or all of theſe Feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the Humour of the Nation: And that ſometimes may go farther than any Treaſures, if ſpirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the love of Religion or Liberty, or the neceſſity of Defence: But the good will of the Nation to the preſent War (as it was foreſeen by thoſe who gave the deſpe-rate Counſels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and ſtopping of the Exchequer; ſo it) has been ſince but too much experienced by the Succeſſes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the Humours and Opinions of thoſe that ſerve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of thoſe that command; and not to ſpeak of thoſe incurable Jealouſies which have been ſo generally raiſed or infuſed into the People about the firſt Deſigns of this War, and ſo much encreaſe by the profeſſions or actions, or at leaſt

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the general Reputation of thoſe who paſs for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at leaſt obſervable, That after ſo long Hoſtility, and four Battels, yet the Nation does not ſeem at all to be angry though that is the firſt thing ſhould be brought about, if we would have Men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a Breach with *Spain* ſhould make us any kinder to the War than we were before; ſince that muſt grow wholly upon occaſion of the *French*, we having no Quarrel there of our own. And our Kindneſs to *France* will ſpirit us as little as our hatred to *Spain*, at leaſt till their Fortunes change, and the Balance riſe again on the *Spaniſh* ſide, which has riſen ſo long and to ſuch a heighth on the *French*; for by the courſe of Human Nature there will ever be a degree of Hatred mingled with Fear, and of Kindneſs with Compaſſion.

Upon the ſurvey of theſe Proviſions and Diſpoſitions, it muſt be concluded neceſſary for His Majeſty either to make a Peace, or elſe to turn the War directly upon ſuch points of Honour,

Juſtice,

Juſtice and Safety, as may ingage both the Parliament and Nation in the ſupport and proſecution of the War. And to do this, He muſt at leaſt offer at a Peace, and upon terms into which the humour and ſpirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now perfected between *Holland* and *Spain* ſeems the happieſt thing that could have arrived to His Majeſty's affairs upon this Occaſion: for whilſt *Holland* ſtood alone, in caſe we had been forced to offer at any meaſures with them, *France* might upon the firſt jealouſie have been before Us, and ſlipping one knot might have tyed another in three days time. But now the intereſts of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorrain*, are woven together with thoſe of *Holland*, it will not be a ſhort and eaſie work to adjuſt thoſe of *France* with the Emperor in the matters of *Alſatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorrain* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unleſs by the Revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a near and greater danger from *Spain*, in

in which caſe they will not fail of returning to their old meaſures with *France*.

The firſt Pace which ſeems neceſſary for His Majeſty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as poſſible he can, by aſſuring them he reſolves upon a neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he comes to a peace with *Holland*, he intends it ſhall paſs by their Mediation; and if that be effected, he will imploy his own towards the general Peace of Chriſtendom, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next point is to reſolve upon the Conditions neceſſary to a Peace; The beſt way to this is to ſeek without paſſion where the Juſtice lies, and the true intereſts of His Majeſty's Crowns, as it is generally underſtood by his Perple, of which the ſence of his Parliament is the beſt Teſtimony; for their concurrence will give weight to His demands of Peace, or to the ſupport of a War.

Between Us and *Holland* the Points of Juſtice muſt be grounded upon the infraction of Treaties, and ſo will

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reach only to the buſineſs of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three ſeveral Treaties in the ſame form; but the Articles ſtill referring to former uſe, it remains to diſcuſs and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumſtances of obſerving it. Without this, no peace we can have will ſeem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a ground at pleaſure for opening a War. And this point can only be gained by a ſeparate peace between Us and *Holland*; for if the War ſhould come to end in a general treaty, like that of *Munſter*; As his Majeſty's intereſt would be leſs conſidered in a croud of ſo many others, and would hardly be ſuffered to obſtruct a general Peace; ſo this Right of the Flag in particular, would be at leaſt diſfavoured, if not oppoſed by our Friends as well as our Enemies, that is by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The buſineſs of *Surinam* is a trifle, and the diſputes upon it aroſe rather from

from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the Nations, than from any difference, or difficulty in adjuſting it; ſo as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being ſoon decided by plain Articles upon the ſurrender of the Place.

There are two Points more wherein the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be inſiſted upon, ſo far at leaſt as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be ſaid to be points of Juſtice, becauſe they are not regulated by Treaties. The firſt is the point of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, wherein we deſire new agreements between us, upon ſuſpicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach in the old; and though our *Eaſt-India* Company never urged their deſires as a juſt ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I ſuppoſe may be ſtill, if we fall into it again.

The ſecond is an acknowledgment to His Majeſty for the leave of Fiſhing upon His Coaſts; and though this may

not

not be grounded upon any Treaty, yet if it appear to have been an ancient right on our ſide, and cuſtom on theirs, and not determined or extinguiſhed by any Treaty between us, it may with Juſtice be inſiſted on; though it will paſs harder with the *Dutch* than any of the reſt, who will much eaſier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great ſum of Money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a conſtant Tribute.

The laſt thing His Majeſty can demand from *Holland*, is Money for the charges of the War. But unleſs the Juſtice or neceſſity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak Ground. And if we expect Money, it muſt be to purchaſe what is to come, and not to pay for what is paſt: and it is very probable, that if His Majeſty ſhould reſolve with a peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident points of Juſtice between them, and to joyn againſt that Crown which refuſes the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their Money upon ſuch an agreement

ment. But the meaſure and manner muſt be left to private Treaty; and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever in any of theſe points, or any other His Majeſty ſhould be content to releaſe, ought to be done upon the ſatisfaction He ſhould declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Anceſtors. But for His Majeſty to inſiſt upon any further advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not only raiſe invincible difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Princes Affairs among them in a very great meaſure. And the Prince I believe knows their Conſtitution ſo well, as to underſtand it ſo.

If upon good terms in theſe particulars a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the intereſt of it to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of the War; ſince we ſhould be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the World, while the Houſe of *Auſtria*

and *Holland* would be ingaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majesty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the Peace.

For the measures to be observed in all this with *France*; and the preserving His Majesty's Honour on that side, First, the humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the Interest of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be represented to them as difficulties invincible, unless *France* can furnish the charge which the War will cost beyond what can be spared out of His Majesty's constant Revenue. Then His Majesty may propose to them His design of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which I suppose was not a Point that entred into any Agreements against *Holland*. And lastly, He may desire their consent, since he cannot prosecute the War, to make His Peace with *Holland*, upon the assurance of imploying afterwards His Mediation between them and *Spain*, in which the concurrence of His Parliament will make him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made Him unable to pursue the

War. If *France* will not conſent either to furniſh us with Money ſufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor Peace with *Holland*; it would then be conſidered whether *France* in the like caſe would ſuffer ſuch a Conjuncture as this to eſcape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us: or whether indeed any Prince or State would do ſo. A Conjuncture whereby the Honour and Intereſt of His Majeſty's Crown may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raiſed to a heighth it has not reached before; the paſſionate bent and humour of the People pleaſed, and their jealouſies in a great meaſure allayed; the true Balance of Chriſtendom maintained, all the Princes and States of it (beſides *France* alone) ſatisfied: and in ſhort, by which His Majeſty may grow again inſenſibly into the Hearts of his People at home, and into the influence upon all Affairs of His Neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly ſaid, that we may come off from *France* with as much Honour as we came on. But it is a true thing, that

he has always the honour of the War, that has the advantage of it: and 'tis I doubt ſo of a Peace too, and that cannot fail us here, provided we make ſure of *Spain* (in caſe we apprehend our loſing of *France*) to which their Diſpoſitions and Intereſts muſt certainly concur with ours in all Points, unleſs that of *Jamaica* make an exception.

All the difficulty His Majeſty can meet with in this purſuit, will be ſome want of reputation and truſt with the Government of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foiled of late by the breach of our former Alliances, ſo much (as they think) againſt our own intereſts as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common belief, That every State will be ever bound in their own intereſts, among which their Honour and obſervance of Faith grows to be one very conſiderable (becauſe while the Minds of Men are generally poſſeſt with a belief of God Almighty's concerning himſelf in Affairs here below, the Opinion of Juſtice or Injuſtice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect up-

on the ſucceſſes of a War:) therefore our Reputation cannot any way be ſo far recovered with our Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majeſty's Councils return into the true Intereſts of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Meaſures may be firm with them, upon the ſame reaſon which has ſhaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will reſtore, or raiſe the Credit of His Majeſty's Government at home, will do it abroad too: For a King of *England* at the head of his Parliament and People, and in their hearts and intereſts, can never fail of making what Figure he pleaſes in the World, nor of being ſafe and eaſie at home; and may deſpiſe all the deſigns of factious Men, who can only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the Intereſt of the Nation, when the Court ſeems to be out of it. But in running on Councels contrary to the general humour and ſpirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Miniſters great Subjects, but they can never make Him a great Prince.

T

Shene, Jan. 29. 1674.

TO THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX,

UPON

Her Grief occaſioned by the loſs of Her only Daughter.

THE Honour I received by a Letter from your Ladiſhip, was too great and too ſenſible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occaſion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your Ladiſhip any further troubles of this kind, without as

good an Errand as my laſt. This I have reckon'd upon a good while by another viſit my Siſter and I had deſigned to my Lord *Capell*. How we came to have defer'd it ſo long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this diſtance, though we make our ſelves believe it could not be helpt. Your Ladiſhip at leaſt has had the advantage of being thereby excuſed ſome time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the ſenſible Wounds that have ſo often of late been given your Friends here by ſuch deſperate Expreſſions in ſeveral of your Letters concerning your Humour, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your Friends, you muſt allow them to be extreamly concerned. Perhaps none can be at Heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladiſhip, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occaſion, how unjuſt and unkind ſoever you are to your ſelf. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, ſo great a remainder of your own Family, and ſo great hopes of that into which you are enter'd, and all by a

deſperate

deſperate melancholy, upon an accident paſt remedy, and to which all Mortal Race is perpetually ſubject: For God's ſake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, That what you do is not at all agreeable either with ſo good a Chriſtian, or ſo reaſonable and ſo great a Perſon as your Ladiſhip appears to the World in all other Lights.

I know no duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more juſtly required by God Almighty, than a perfect ſubmiſſion to his Will in all things; nor do I think any diſpoſition of Mind can either pleaſe him more, or become us better, than that of being ſatisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None I am ſure can be of more Honour to God, nor of more eaſe to our ſelves: for if we conſider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to diſtruſt him; So that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for our good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwiſe, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor ſave any thing by reſiſting.

But if it were fit for us to reaſon with God Almighty, and your Ladiſhips Loſs be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; Yet I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do: for the firſt motions or Paſſions, how violent ſoever may be pardoned; and it is only the courſe of them which makes them inexcuſable. In this World, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good, and whatever is called ſo, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or elſe with the evil that is mingled in its compoſition; ſo he is a good Man that is better than Men commonly are, or in whom the good Qualities are more than the bad: ſo in the courſe of Life, his condition is eſteemed good, which is better than that of moſt other Men, or wherein the good Circumſtances are more than the ill. By this meaſure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your Friends would have cauſe to rejoyce rather than condole with you: For the Goods or Bleſſings of Life are uſually eſteemed to be Birth,

Health,

Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladiſhip has fairly conſidered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all theſe, you may be left to judge your ſelf how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and conſider other Lives as well as your own, and what your Lot is in compariſon with thoſe that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; If you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we ſee, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diſeaſes, and how much Poverty there is in the World, you will fall down upon your Knees, and inſtead of repining at one Affliction, will admire ſo many Bleſſings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladiſhip in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all theſe Points, would look like a deſign to flatter you: But this I may ſay, That we will pity you as much as you pleaſe, if you will tell us who they

they are that you think upon all Circumſtances you have reaſon to envy. Now if I had a Maſter that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either becauſe I uſed it ill, or gave my ſelf ſo much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the reſt of the World; Or perhaps becauſe he would ſhew his Power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the reſt; would you think I had much reaſon to complain of hard uſage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have loſt a Child, and therein all that could be loſt in a Child of that Age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do ſo long; you have the aſſurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in imployment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the eſteem of good Men. You have kept your Beauty and your Health, unleſs you have deſtroyed them your ſelf, or diſcouraged them to ſtay with you by uſing them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as

you

you can wiſh or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of loſing you, and being thereby ſo much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have Honour and Eſteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of your ſeeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your ſelf, or any thing elſe, after what you have loſt.

You will ſay perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your fondneſs of it made you indifferent to every thing elſe. But this, I doubt, will be ſo far from juſtifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your miſfortune. God Almighty gave you all the Bleſſings of Life, and you ſet your Heart wholly upon one, and deſpiſe or undervalue all the reſt: Is this His fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very ſcornful to the reſt of the World; is it not to ſay, Becauſe you have loſt one thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to ſay, Since that one thing is gone out

of

of the World, there is nothing left in it which you think can deſerve your kindneſs or eſteem? A Friend makes me a Feaſt, and ſets all before me that his care or kindneſs could provide; but I ſet my heart upon one Diſh alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I ſcorn all the reſt; and tho' he ſends for another of the ſame, yet I riſe from the Table in a rage, and ſay my Friend is my Enemy, and has done me the greateſt wrong in the World; Have I reaſon, Madam, or good grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the reſt that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of Chriſtianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our paſſions, to temper our Affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the poſſeſſion, and patient under the loſs when ever he that gave it ſhall ſee fit to take away. Your extream fondneſs was perhaps as diſpleaſing to God before, as now your extream affliction; and your loſs may have been a puniſhment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had

'Tis

'Tis at leaſt pious to aſcribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits rather that to injuſtice in God; and becomes us better to adore all the Iſſues of his Providence in the effects, than enquire into the Cauſes: For ſubmiſſion is the only way of reaſoning between a Creature and its Maker; and contentment in his Will is the greateſt duty we can pretend to, and the beſt remedy we can apply to all our Misfortunes.

But, Madam, tho' Religion were no party in your Caſe, and that for ſo violent and injurious a Grief you had nothing to anſwer to God, but only to the World and your ſelf; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the World with us a poor needy uncertain Life, ſhort at the longeſt, and unquiet at the beſt; all the imaginations of the Witty and the Wiſe have been perpetually buſied to find out the ways how to revive it with Pleaſures, or relieve it with Diverſions; how to compoſe it with eaſe, and ſettle it with ſafety. To ſome of theſe ends have been imployed the Inſtitutions of Lawgivers,

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the reaſonings of Philoſophers, the inventions of Poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous Men. All the World is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, but only that our poor Mortal Lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better when we loſe them. Upon this occaſion Riches came to be coveted, Honours to be eſteemed, Friendſhip and Love to be purſued, and Vertues themſelves to be admired in the World. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all Mankind, to condemn their univerſal Opinions and Deſigns, if inſtead of paſſing your Life as well and eaſily, you reſolve to paſs it as ill and as miſerably as you can? You grow inſenſible to the conveniences of Riches, the delights of Honour and Praiſe, the charms of Kindneſs or Friendſhip, nay to the obſervance or applauſe of Vertues themſelves; For who can you expect, in theſe exceſſes of Paſſion, will allow you to ſhew either Temperance or Fortitude, to be either Prudent or Juſt? And for your Friends, I ſuppoſe, you reckon upon loſing their kindneſs,

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when you have ſufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, ſince you have none left for your ſelf or any thing elſe. You declare upon all occaſions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleaſure in any thing that is left in this World; and I aſſure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to pleaſe you.

Among the ſeveral inquiries and endeavours after the happineſs of Life, the ſenſual Men agree in purſuit of every Pleaſure they can ſtart, without regarding the pains of the chaſe, the wearineſs when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The buſie and ambitious fall into the more laſting purſuits of Power and Riches; The ſpeculative Men preferr Tranquility of Mind, before the different Motions of Paſſion and Appetite, or the common ſucceſſions of Deſire and Satiety, of Pleaſure and Pain: but this may ſeem too dull a Principle for the happineſs of Life, which is ever in motion: and Paſſions are perhaps the Stings, without which they ſay no Honey is made; yet I think all ſorts of Men have

have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Maſters; to give us ſome agitation for entertainment or exerciſe, but never to throw our Reaſon out of its Seat. Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on Horſe-back; but I would never ride a Horſe that galls my Fleſh, or ſhakes my Bones, or that runs away with me as he pleaſes, ſo as I can neither ſtop at a River or Precipice. Better no Paſſions at all, than have them too violent; or ſuch alone, as inſtead of heightning our Pleaſures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all ſuch loſſes as your Ladiſhip's has been, there is ſomething that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all exceſſive and outrageous Grief or Lamentation for the Dead, was accounted among the Antient Chriſtians, to have ſomething of Heatheniſh; and among the Civil Nations of Old, to have ſomething of Barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the firſt to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to reſtrain it by their Law. The longeſt time that

has been allowed to the Forms of Mourning by the Cuſtom of any Country, and in any Relation, has been but that of a Year, in which ſpace the Body is commonly ſuppoſed to be mouldered away to Earth, and to retain no more Figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loſs of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other ſide, to Children under Age, nothing has been allowed; and I ſuppoſe with particular reaſon (the common Ground of all general Cuſtoms,) perhaps becauſe they die in innocence, and without having taſted the miſeries of Life, ſo as we are ſure they are well when they leave us, and eſcape much ill would in all appearance have befallen them if they had ſtaid longer with us. Beſides a Parent may have twenty Children, and ſo his mourning may run through all the beſt of his life, if his Loſſes are frequent of that kind; and our kindneſs to Children ſo young, is taken to proceed from common Opinions, or fond Imaginations, not Friendſhip or Eſteem; and to be founded upon Entertainment, rather than Uſe in the many Offices of Life:

Nor would it pass from any Person besides your Ladiſhip, to ſay you loſt a Companion and a Friend at Nine year old, though you loſt one indeed, who gave the faireſt hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing elſe that was eſteemable and good: But yet, that it ſelfe God only knows, conſidering the changes of Humour and Diſpoſition, which are as great as thoſe of Feature and Shape the firſt ſixteen Years of our Lives, conſidering the Chances of Time, the Infection of Company, the Snares of the World, and the Paſſions of Youth; ſo that the moſt excellent and agreeable Creature of that tender age, and that ſeemed born under the happieſt Stars, might by the Courſe of Years and Accidents, come to be the moſt miſerable her ſelf, and more trouble to her Friends by living long, than ſhe could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your Loſs ſo great, and ſome meaſure of your Grief ſo deſerved, that would all your paſſionate Complaints, all the Anguiſh of your Heart do any thing to retrieve it; could Tears water the lovely Plant

ſo as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would Sighs furniſh new Breath, or could it draw Life and Spirits from the waſting of yours; I am ſure your Friends would be ſo far from accuſing your Paſſion, that they would encourage it as much, and ſhare it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguiſh all ſuch Hopes, forbid all ſuch Deſigns: Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the exceſſes of Greif to have been ſo univerſally condemned as a thing unnatural, becauſe ſo much in vain; whereas Nature they ſay does nothing in vain: As a thing ſo unreaſonable, becauſe ſo contrary to our own Deſigns; for we all deſign to be well, and at eaſe, and by Grief we make our ſelves ill of imaginary Wounds, and raiſe our ſelves Troubles moſt properly out of the Duſt, whilſt our Ravings and Complaints, are but like Arrows ſhot up into the Air, at no Mark, and ſo to no purpoſe, but only to fall back upon our Heads, and deſtroy our ſelves, in ſtead of recovering or revenging our Friends

Perhaps, Madam, you will ſay, this is your Deſign, or if not, your Deſire; but I hope you are not yet ſo far gone, or ſo deſperately bent: Your Ladiſhip knows very well, your Life is not your own, but His that lent it you to manage, and preſerve the beſt you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from ſome common Hand. It belongs in a great meaſure to your Country, and your Family; and therefore by all Human Laws, as well as Divine, Self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greateſt Crime, and is puniſht here with the utmoſt Shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the Dead. But is the Crime much leſs to kill our ſelves by a ſlow Poiſon, than by a ſudden Wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual Grief, can we think our ſelves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our Hearts or conſume them; if we pierce them, or bruiſe them; ſince all determines in the ſame Death, as all ariſes from the ſame Deſpair? But what if it goes not ſo far? 'Tis not indeed ſo bad as might be, but that does not excuſe it from being ve-

ry ill: Though I do not kill my Neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to ſpoil him of the Conveniences of Life? The greateſt Crime is for a man to kill himſelf; is it a ſmall one to wound himſelf by anguiſh of Heart, by grief, or deſpair, to ruin his Health, to ſhorten his Age, to deprive himſelf of all the Pleaſures, or Eaſes, or Enjoyments of Life?

Next to the Miſchiefs we do our ſelves, are thoſe we do our Children, nd our Friends, as thoſe who deſerve eſt of us, or at leaſt deſerve no ill. The Child you carry about you what as that done, that you ſhould endeour to deprive it of Life, almoſt as oon as you beſtow it? Or if at the beſt ou ſuffer it to live to be born, yet y your ill uſage of your ſelf, ſhould much impair the ſtrength of its boy and Health, and perhaps the very emper of its Mind, by giving it ſuch infuſion of Melancholy, as may rve to diſcolour the Objects, and diſliſh the Accidents it may meet with the common train of Life? But this one you are not yet acquainted ith; what will you ſay to another

you are? Were it a ſmall Injury to my Lord *Capel*, to deprive him of a Mother, from whoſe Prudence and Kindneſs he may juſtly expect the Cares of his Health and Education, the forming of his Body, and the cultivating of his Mind; the Seeds of Honour and Vertue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy Life; How has my Lord of *Eſſex* deſerved that you ſhould go about to loſe Him a Wife he loves with ſo much paſſion, and which is more, with ſo much reaſon; ſo great an Honour and Support to His Family, ſo great a Hope to his Fortune, and Comfort to His Life? Are there ſo many left of your own Great Family, that you ſhould deſire in a manner wholly to reduce it by ſuffering the greateſt and almoſt laſt Branch of it to wither away before its time? or is your Country in this Age ſo ſtored with great Perſons, that you ſhould envy it thoſe we may juſtly expect from ſo Noble a Race?

Whilſt I had any hopes your Tears would eaſe you, or that your Grief would conſume it ſelf by Liberty and Time, your Ladiſhip knows very well I never once accuſed it, nor ever en-

creaſed

creaſed it, like many others, by the common formal ways of aſſwaging it; and this I am ſure is the firſt Office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwiſe than in the moſt ordinary Forms. I was in hope what was ſo violent, could not be ſo long: but when I obſerved it to grow ſtronger with Age, and encreaſe like a Stream the further it run; when I ſaw it draw out to ſo much unhappy Conſequences, and threaten no leſs than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladiſhip for God's ſake, and for your own, for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Countries and your Families, that you would no longer abandon your ſelf to ſo diſconſolate a Paſſion, but that you would at length awaken your Piety, give way to your Prudence, or at leaſt rowſe up the invincible Spirit of the *Piercies*, that never yet ſhrunk at any Diſaſter; that you would ſometimes remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not always the Loſſes; cheriſh thoſe Veins of good Humour that are

ſometimes ſo natural to you, and ſear up thoſe of ill that would make you ſo unnatural to your Children, and to your ſelf: But above all, that you would enter upon the Cares of your Health, and your Life, for your Friends ſake at leaſt, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me ſo great an Honour and Satisfaction, as if your Ladiſhip would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more juſtly pretend to your pardon for the Attempt, ſince there is none, I am ſure, that has always had at heart a greater Honour for your Ladiſhips Family, nor can have for your Perſon more devotion and eſteem than,

Madam,

Your Ladiſhips moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant.

A N

Nimeguen, June 18. 1677.

AN ESSAY Upon the CURE of the GOUT BY MOXA.

Written to Monſieur de Zulichem.

I Never thought it would have befaln me to be the firſt that ſhould try a new Experiment, any more than to be Author of any new Invention; being little inclined to practiſe upon others,

others, and as little that others ſhould practiſe upon me. The ſame warmth of Head diſpoſes Men to both, though one be commonly eſteemed an Honour, and the other a Reproach. I am ſorry the firſt, and the worſe of the two, is fallen to my ſhare, by which all a Man can hope is to avoid Cenſure, and that is much harder than to gain Applauſe: For this may be done by one great or wiſe Action in an Age; but to avoid Cenſure a man muſt paſs his Life without ſaying or doing one ill or fooliſh thing.

This might ſerve the turn, if all Men were juſt; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idleſt Pretenſion in the World to live without it; the meaneſt Subjects cenſuring the Actions of the greateſt Prince; the ſillieſt Servants, of the wiſeſt Maſter; and young Children, of the oldeſt Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my ſelf to give any account of an Experiment I made by your perſwaſion, to ſatisfie thoſe who imputed it to Folly, Raſhneſs, or Impatience; but to ſatisfie you who propoſed the thing in kindneſs to me, and deſired the Relation

ion of it, in kindneſs to other men. I confeſs your engaging me firſt in his Adventure of the *Moxa*, and deſiring the Story of it from me, is like giving one the Torture, and then asking his Confeſſion; which is hard uſage to an innocent Man and a Friend. Beſides, having ſuffered the firſt, I took my ſelf to have a right of refuſing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be diſputed in either; and the pretence of publick good is a cheat that will ever paſs in the World, though so often abuſed by ill Men, that I wonder the good do not grow aſhamed to uſe it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but ſay that I have done, as well as ſuffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the Story with the more Circumſtance, becauſe many queſtioned the Diſeaſe, that they might not allow of the Cure; though the Certainty of one, and Force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two Returns ſince I left you at the *Hague*, which paſt with the ſame ſucceſs, the Reaſonings upon this Method, which ſeem to confirm the Experiment,

riment, and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the ſame end for which you ſeemed ſo much to deſire this Relation. The Digreſſions I cannot excuſe otherwiſe, than by the confidence that no Man will read them, who has not at leaſt as much leiſure as I had when I writ them; and whoſoever diſlikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For thoſe about Temperance, Age, or their Effects and Periods in reference to Publick Buſineſs, they could be better addreſt to none, than to you, who have paſt the longeſt Life with the moſt Temperance, and the beſt Health and Humour of any Man I know; and having run through ſo much great and Publick Buſineſs, have found out the Secret ſo little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of Merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *Engliſh*, being the Language I always obſerved to have moſt of your kindneſs among ſo many others of your Acquaintance. If your Partiality to that, and to me, and to your own Requeſt, will not excuſe

cuſe all the Faults of this Paper, I have nothing more to ſay for it, and ſo will leave you to judge of it as you pleaſe.

AMong all the Diſeaſes to which the Intemperance of this Age diſpoſes it (at leaſt in theſe Northern Climates), I have obſerved none to encreaſe ſo much within the compaſs of my Memory and Converſation, as the *Gout*, nor any I think of worſe conſequence to Mankind; becauſe it falls generally upon Perſons engaged in publick Affairs and great Imployments, upon whoſe thoughts and Cares (if not their Motions and their Pains) the Common Good and Service of their Country ſo much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Miniſters in Counſels at home, and Embaſſies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally ſubject to it in one degree or other. I ſuppoſe the Reaſon of this may be, that Men ſeldom come into thoſe Poſts till after Forty Years old, about which time the natural Heat beginning to decay, makes way

way for thoſe diſtempers they are moſt inclined to by their Native Conſtitutions, or by their Cuſtoms and Habits of Life. Beſides, Perſons in thoſe Poſts are uſually born of Families Noble and Rich, and ſo derive a Weakneſs of Conſtitution from the Eaſe and Luxury of their Anceſtors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from thoſe very imployments, and the general Cuſtom of living in them at much expence, engages Men in the conſtant uſe of great Tables, and in frequent Exceſſes of ſeveral kinds, which muſt end in Diſeaſes when the vigour of Youth is paſt, and the force of Exerciſe (that ſerved before to ſpend the Humour) is given over for a ſedentary and unactive Life.

Theſe I take to be the reaſons of ſuch Perſons being ſo generally ſubject to ſuch Accidents more than other Men; and they are ſo plain, that they muſt needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill conſequence of it is not ſo obvious, though perhaps as evident to Men that obſerve: and may be equally confirmed by Reaſons and Examples

It is that the vigour of the Mind decays with that of the Body, and not only Humour and Invention, but even Judgment and Reſolution, change and languiſh, with ill Conſtitution of Body, and of Health; and by this means Publick Buſineſs comes to ſuffer by Private Infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into Weakneſſes and Diſtempers, by the Diſeaſes or Decays of thoſe Perſons that manage them.

Within theſe Fifteen Years paſt, I have known a great Fleet diſabled for two Months, and thereby loſe great Occaſions, by an Indiſpoſition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exerciſe, nor ill enough to leave the Command. I have known two Towns of the greateſt conſequence loſt contrary to all Forms, by the Governour's falling ill in the time of the Sieges.

I have obſerved the Fate of *Campania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the Caution and Conduct of a General, which were attributed by thoſe that knew him, to his Age and Infirmities, rather than his own true Qualities, acknowledged otherwiſe to have been

been as great as moſt Men of the Age. I have ſeen the Counſels of a Noble Country grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill Health that managed them, and the Pulſe of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct makes way for great Accidents in the World: Nay I have often reflected upon the Counſels and Fortunes of the greateſt Monarchies riſing and decaying ſenſibly with the Ages and Healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Miniſter that confeſt to me, when he fell into one of his uſual Fits of the *Gout*, He was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any Publick Buſineſs, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domeſticks, though it were to ſave a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any violence of Pain, but from a general languiſhing and faintneſs of Spirits, which made him in thoſe Fits think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or ſollicitous Thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the *Gout*, the *Spleen*, or the

Scurvy

Scurvy, nay the very fumes of indigeſtion, may indiſpoſe Men to thought and to care, as well as Diſeaſes of danger and pain.

Thus accidents of Health grow to be accidents of State, and publick Conſtitutions come to depend in a great meaſure upon thoſe of particular Men; which makes it perhaps ſeem neceſſary in the choice of Perſons for great imployments (at leaſt ſuch as require conſtant application and pains) to conſider their Bodies as well as their Minds, and Ages and Health as well as their Abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worſe judge of Age, I have often ſaid, that what great thing ſoever Man propoſed to do in his Life, he ſhould think of atchieving it by Fifty Years old. Now I am approaching that Age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no Man rides to an end of that Stage without feeling his journey in all Parts, whatever diſtinctions are made between the Mind and the Body, or between Judgment and Memory. And though I have known ſome few, who might per-

haps be of uſe in Counſel upon great Occaſions, till after Threeſcore and Ten; and have heard that the two late Miniſters in *Spain*, Counts of *Caſtriglio*, and *Pignoranda*, were ſo till Fourſcore; Yet I will not anſwer, that the very conduct of Publick Affairs, under their Miniſtery has not always taſted of the Lees of their Age.

I obſerve in this Aſſembly at *Nimeguen*, from ſo many ſeveral Parts of *Chriſtendom*, that of One and Twenty Ambaſſadors, there are but Three above Fifty Years Old; which ſeems an Argument, of my Opinion being in a manner general; Nor can I think the Period ill calculated, at leaſt for a great General of Armies, or Miniſter of State, in times or ſcenes of great Action, when the care of a State or an Army ought to be as conſtant as the *Chymick* Fire, to make any great Production; and if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now I doubt whether any Man after Fifty be capable of ſuch conſtant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exerciſe, which that certainly is, and of the fineſt Parts

Beſides

Beſides, none that feel ſenſibly the decays of Age, and his Life wearing off, can Figure to himſelf thoſe imaginary Charms in Riches and Praiſe, that Men are apt to do in the warmth of their Blood: and thoſe are the uſual Incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and ſupport of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about Five and Fifty, found it was time to give over: That the preſent Grand *Vizier*, who paſſes for one of the greateſt Men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Miniſtery about Twenty eight, and the greateſt I have obſerved, which was that of *Mounſieur de Witt*, began at Three and Thirty, and laſted to Forty Eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many Years longer at that Weighth, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which enter'd into the compoſition of this Miniſter, the great care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life, were not I think, the leaſt conſiderable; ſince from the firſt he derived his great Temperance, as well as his great Boldneſs and Con-

ſtancy from the other. And if Intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of *Gout*, or *Dropſie*, and of *Scurvy*, and moſt other lingring Diſeaſes, which are thoſe that infeſt the State; I think Temperance deſerves the firſt Rank among publick Vertues, as well as thoſe of private Men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the conſtant ſteddy exerciſe of Prudence, Juſtice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon theſe Grounds whoever can propoſe a way of Curing, or Preventing the *Gout* (which enter'd chiefly into thoſe Examples I have mentioned of publick Affairs, ſuffering by private Indiſpoſitions) would perhaps do a ſervice to Princes and States, as well as to particular Men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being ſtrongly poſſeſt with a belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this ſubject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this Diſeaſe where it is but new, though perhaps longer Methods are neceſſary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfathers death I had

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reaſon to apprehend the *Stone*, and from my Father's Life the *Gout*, who has been for this many Years, and ſtill continues much afflicted with it. The firſt apprehenſion has been, I confeſs, with me ever the ſtrongeſt, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deſerved it by the uſual Forms; Nor had I ever, I thank God, the leaſt threat from either of them, till the laſt Year at the *Hague*, being then in the Seven and Fortieth Year of my Age; when about the end of *February*, one night at Supper, I felt a ſudden pain in my right Foot, which from the firſt moment it began, encreaſed ſenſibly, and in an hours time to that degree, that though I ſaid nothing, yet others took notice of it in my Face, and ſaid, They were ſure I was not well, and would have had me go to Bed. I confeſt I was in pain, and thought it was with ſome ſprain at Tennis: I pulled off my Shooe, and with ſome eaſe that gave me, ſtir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to Bed, but it raged ſo much all Night, that I could not ſleep a wink. I en-

dured it till about Eight next Morning in hopes ſtill of ſtealing ſome reſt; but then making my complaints, and ſhewing my Foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common Poltices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found ſome eaſe, and continued this exerciſe all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I paſt with very little reſt. The morning after my Foot began to ſwell, and the violence of my Pain to aſſwage, though it left ſuch a ſoreneſs, that I could hardly ſuffer the Clothes of my Bed, nor ſtir my Foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illneſs being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the *Gout*; and being no longer feveriſh, or in any extremity of Pain, I was content to ſee company. Every Body that came to viſit me, found ſomething to ſay upon the occaſion; ſome made a Jeſt of it, or a little reproach; others were ſerious in their Mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy accident and ſign of long Life. The *Spaniards* aſk

me *Albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be ſure 'twas the *Gout*; and in ſhort, none of the Company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever, or a worſe Diſeaſe at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am ſure, have been leſs.

Though I had never feared the *Gout*, yet I had always ſcorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as that I thought made Men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: Beſides, I was preſt in my Journey at that time to *Nimeguen* by His Majeſty's Commands, to aſſiſt at the Treaty there. Moſt of the Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom* were upon their way: One of my *Colleagues* was already upon the Place, and I had promiſed immediately to follow; for by our Commiſſion we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a Fit of the *Gout* uſed to have ſix Weeks at the leaſt for its ordinary Period. With theſe comforts about me, and ſullen-

neſs enough to uſe no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monſieur *Zulichem* came to ſee me (among the reſt of my Friends) who, I think, never came into Company without ſaying ſomething that was new, and ſo he did upon my occaſion. For talking of my illneſs, and approving of my obſtinacy againſt all the common Preſcriptions; he asked me whether I had never heard the *Indian* way of Curing the *Gout* by *Moxa?* I told him no, and asked him what it was? He ſaid it was a certain kind of Moſs that grew in the *Eaſt-Indies*; that their way was, whenever any Body fell into a Fit of the *Gout*, to take a ſmall quantity of it, and form it into a Figure broad at bottom as a Two-pence, and pointed at top; To ſet the bottom exactly upon the Place where the violence of the Pain was fixed; then with a ſmall round perfumed Match (made likewiſe in the *Indies)* to give Fire to the top of the Moſs; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the Skin, and burn it till the Moſs was conſumed to Aſhes: That many times the firſt burning would remove the Pain; if not,

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it was to be renewed a ſecond, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the Perſon found he could ſet his Foot boldly to the Ground and walk.

I deſired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He ſaid by the Relation of ſeveral who had ſeen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Miniſter at *Batavia*, who being extreamly tormented with a Fit of the *Gout*, an old *Indian* Woman coming to ſee him, undertook to Cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many Experiments of it there, had written this Treatiſe of it in *Dutch* for the uſe of his Country-men, and ſent over a quantity of the Moſs and Matches to his Son at *Utrecht*, to be ſold, if any would be perſwaded to uſe them. That though he could not ſay whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, he thought he ſhould try it if ever he ſhould fall into that Diſeaſe.

I deſired the Book, which he promiſed to ſend me next Morning; and this

this discourse of Monsieur *Zulichem* busied my head all night. I hated the very name of the *Gout*, and thought it a reproach: and for the good sign People called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any sign of living long in weakness or in pain. I deplored the loss of my Legs, and confinement to my Chamber at an Age that left me little pleasure but of walking and of Air; but the worst Circumstance of all, was the sentence past upon it of being without Cure.

I had past Twenty Years of my Life, and several Accidents of danger in my Health, without any use of Physicians; and from some Experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that subject, had reasoned my self into an opinion, that the use of them and their Methods (unless in some sudden and acute Disease) was in self a very great venture; and that their greatest Practisers practised least upon themselves, or their Friends. I had ever quarrelled with their studying Art more than Nature, and applying themselves to Methods, rather than to Remedies; whereas the knowledge of the

he laſt is all that Nine Parts in Ten of he World have truſted to in all Ages.

But for the common Remedies of the *Gout*, I found Exceptions to them all; he time of purging was paſt with me, which otherwiſe I ſhould certainly ave tried upon the Authority of the reat *Hippocrates*, who ſays it ſhould be one upon the firſt motion of the Hu- nour in the *Gout*. For Poltices, I new they allayed pain; but withal, hat they drew down the Humours, nd ſupplied the Parts, thereby making he Paſſages wider, and apter to receive hem in greater quantity; and I had ften heard it concluded, that the uſe f them ended in loſing that of ones imbs, by weakening the Joynt upon very Fit. For Plaiſters that had any ffect, I thought it muſt be by diſper- ng or repelling the Humours, which ould not be done without endanger- g perhaps ſome other Diſeaſe of the owels, the Stomach, or the Head. Reſt nd warmth either of Clothes or bath- gs, I doubted would in a degree have e effects of Poltices; and Sweating as proper for prevention rather than emedy. So that all I could end

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in with any ſatisfaction, was patience and abſtinence; and though I eaſily reſolved of the laſt, yet the firſt was hard to be found in the circumſtances of my Buſineſs, as well as of my Health.

All this made me rave upon Monſieur *Zulichem*'s new Operation; and for the way of curing by Fire, I found Twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembred what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who uſed it in moſt Diſeaſes; and what I had often heard of that practiſe ſtill continuing among the *Moors* of *Africk*; ſo that a Slave is ſeldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* affirm) who has not many Scars of the hot-iron upon his Body, which they uſe upon moſt Diſtempers, but eſpecially thoſe of the Head, and conſequently in Phyſick as well as in Surgery. In the time of the *Incas* reign in *Peru*, (which I take to have been one of the greateſt Conſtitutions of Abſolute Monarchy that has been in the World) no compoſition was allowed by the Laws to be uſed in point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Diſeaſe. Burning was much in uſe either by natural or artificial Fires

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articularly for all illneſs of Teeth, and
breneſs or ſwelling of the Gums (which
hey were ſubject to from their near-
eſs to the Sea) they had an Herb which
ever failed of curing it, and being laid
o the Gums, burnt away all the Fleſh
hat was ſwelled or corrupted, and
nade way for new that came again as
ound as that of a Child. I remembred
o have had my ſelf in my Youth, one
uel Wound cured by ſcalding Medi-
ament, after it was grown ſo putrefied
s to have (in the Surgeons opinion)
ndangered the Bone; and the violent
welling and bruiſe of another, taken
way as ſoon as I received it, by ſcal-
ing it with Milk. I remembred the
ure of Chilblanes when I was a Boy
which may be called the Childrens
out) by burning at the Fire, or elſe by
alding Brine, that has (I ſuppoſe) the
me effect. I had heard of curing the
tings of Adders, and Bites of mad-
ogs, by immediately burning the Part
ith a hot-iron; and of ſome ſtrange
ures of Frenzies; by caſual applicati-
ns of Fire to the lower Parts; which
ems reaſonable enough, by the violent
vulſion it may make of humours from
the

the Head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps bliſtering in the Neck, and hot Pidgeons, may be in uſe among us upon the ſame Grounds; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of ſuch effect in the caſe of old Ulcers as Fire, which is certainly the greateſt drawer and drier, and thereby the greateſt cleanſer that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diſeaſes of Cattle, there is nothing more commonly uſed nor with greater ſucceſs; and concluded it was but a tenderneſs to Mankind that made it leſs in uſe amongſt us, and which had introduced Corroſives and Cauſticks to ſupply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial Fires.

I mention all theſe Reflections, to ſhew that the experiment I reſolved to make, was upon thought, and not raſhneſs or impatience (as thoſe called it that would have diſſuaded me from it; but the chief reaſon, was, that I liked no other, becauſe I knew they failed every day, and left Men in deſpair of being ever well cured of the Gout.

Next morning I lookt over the Book which

which Monſieur *Zulichem* had promiſed me, written by the Miniſter at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* Philoſophy, or reaſonings upon the cauſe as the *Gout*; but yet thought them as probable of thoſe of Phyſicians here; and liked them ſo much the better, becauſe it ſeems their opinion in the Point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences, among ours are almoſt as many in both as there are Phyſicians that reaſon upon the Cauſes, or practiſe upon the Cure of that Diſeaſe. They hold, that the cauſe of the *Gout* is a malignant Vapour that falls upon the Joynt between the Bone and the skin that covers it, which being the moſt ſenſible of all parts of the Body, cauſes the violence of the Pain. That the ſwelling is no part of the Diſeaſe, but only an effect of it, and of a kindneſs in Nature, that to relieve the part affected, calls down Humours to damp the malignity of the Vapour, and thereby aſſwage the ſharpneſs of the Pain; which ſeldom fails whenever the Part grows very much ſwelled. That conſequently the ſwellings and returns of

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the *Gout*, are chiefly occaſioned by the ill Methods of curing it at firſt. That this Vapour falling upon Joynts which have not motion, and thereby heat enough to diſpel it, cannot be cured otherwiſe than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the preſent ceaſing of the pain upon the ſecond, third, or fourth application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few Minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the laſt burning, an extream ſtench comes out of the Skin where the Fire had opened it.

Whatever the reaſonings were which yet ſeemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged with ſo much confidence, and to be ſo general in thoſe Parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain Man, and one whoſe Profeſſion was to tell truth, helped me to reſolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this reſolution by a *German* Phyſician, Doctor *Theodore Coleaf*, who was then in my Family, a ſober and intelligent Man, whom I diſpatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me ſome of the *Moxa*, and learn the

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exact Method of uſing it, from the Man that ſold it, who was Son to the Miniſter of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole Operation upon his Hand by the Mans direction. I immediately made the Experiment in the manner before related, ſetting the *Moxa* juſt upon the place where the firſt violence of my Pain began, which was the Joint of the great Toe, and where the greateſt Anger and Soreneſs ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the ſwelling of my Foot, ſo that I had never yet in five days been able to ſtir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the firſt Burning I found the ſkin ſhrink all round the place; and whether the greater Pain of the Fire had taken away the ſenſe of a ſmaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it leſs than it was: I burnt it the ſecond time, and upon it obſerved the ſkin about it to ſhrink, and the ſwelling to flat yet more than at firſt. I began to move my Toe, which I had not done before; but I found ſome remainders of Pain. I burnt it the third time, and obſerved ſtill the ſame Ef-

fects without, but a much greater within; for I ſtirred the Joynt ſeveral times at eaſe; and growing bolder, I ſet my Foot to the Ground without any pain at all. After this I purſued the Method preſcribed by the Book, and the Author's Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruiſed Clove of Garlick laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large Plaiſter of *diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading ſtill bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a Slipper to let in my Foot, ſwelled as it was, and walkt half a dozen Turns about the Room, without any pain or trouble, and much to the ſurprize of thoſe that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had reaſoned my ſelf before-hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect ſuch an Effect as I found, which ſeldom reaches to the degree that is promiſed by the Preſcribers of any Remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied ſo late, and the Preſcription reaching only to the firſt attaque of the Pain, and before the Part begins to ſwell.

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For the pain of the Burning it ſelf, the firſt time it is ſharp, ſo that a Man may be allowed to complain: I reſolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain Number, as the beſt meaſure how long it laſted. I told Six-ſcore and four, as faſt as I could; and when the Fire of the *Moxa* was out, all pain of Burning was over. The ſecond time was not near ſo ſharp as the firſt, and the third a great deal leſs than the ſecond. The Wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only ſcorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the Operation, than half a quarter of an hours Pain in the degree I felt it the firſt whole Night.

After Four and twenty Hours, I had it opened, and found a great Bliſter drawn by the Garlick, which I uſed no more, but had the Bliſter cut, which run a good deal of Water, but filled again by the next night; and this continued for three Days, with only a Plaiſter of *Diapalma* upon it; after which time the Bliſter dried up, and left a Sore about as big as a Two-pence, which healed and went away in about a weeks

time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the leaſt return of Pain, the Swelling ſtill growing leſs, though it were near ſix Weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common Opinion, that walking too much might draw down the Humour; which I have ſince had reaſon to conclude a great miſtake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the firſt Day the Pain left me, the Swelling might have left me too in a much leſs time.

The talk of this Cure run about the *Hague*, and made the Converſation in other Places, as well as in the Viſits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a Fortnight after the Burning. Monſieur *Zulichem* came to me among the reſt of the good Company of the Town, and much pleaſed with my Succeſs, as well from his own great humanity, and particular kindneſs to me, as from the part he had in being the firſt Preſcriber of my Cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good Fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of the *Gout*.

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Among others he told it to, Monſieur *Serinchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s then in Town; a Perſon very much, and very deſervedly eſteemed among all the good Company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the ſcore of his own good Humour, or his Maſters ill Fortunes: He had been long ſubject to the *Gout*, and with conſtant returns of long and violent Fits two or three times in a year. He was a Man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy Health whilſt he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and ſo when he was well, denied himſelf nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a Body full of Humours, and made his Fits of the *Gout* as frequent and violent as moſt I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as ſoon as they were paſt, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel Fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extream Pain: When he heard of my Cure, he ſent to me firſt for the Relation of it, and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to

apply it. He ſuffer'd it; but after his pleaſant way roared out, and ſwore at me all the while it was burning, and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I ſent to burn him alive? Yet with all this, the Pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the ſame place; but he was ſomething diſcouraged by a new Pain falling ſome days after upon his Elbow on the other ſide, which gave him a new Fit, though gentler and ſhorter than they uſed to be.

About the ſame time one of the Maids of my Houſe was grown almoſt deſperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of ſleep upon it, and was without Remedy. The Book gives the ſame Cure for certain in that illneſs, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the Man who ſold it at *Utrecht* had aſſured *Coleby* he had ſeen many Cures by it in that kind. We reſolved to try; which was done, and the Pain immediately taken away, and the wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at leaſt while ſhe was in my Houſe.

Thus paſſed the firſt Experiment; upon which Monſieur *Zulichem* giving

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an Account of it to ſome of his Friends at *Greſham-Colledge*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to deſire me from them, and from himſelf, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to ſo great numbers as were ſubject to that Diſeaſe; and told me, that ſome of *Greſham-Colledge* had already given order for tranſlating into *Engliſh* the little *Batavian* Treatiſe. I commended the Care of publiſhing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an Experiment I had reaſon to approve; but excuſed my ſelf from any Relation of my own, as having too much buſineſs at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in publick. I had another reaſon to decline it, that ever uſe to go far with me upon all new Inventions or Experiments, which , that the beſt trial of them is by time. nd obſerving whether they live or o; and that one or two Trials can retend to make no Rule, no more than ne Swallow a Summer; and ſo before told my Story to more than my riends, I had a mind to make more

Trials my ſelf, or ſee them made by other People as wiſe as I had been.

During the Confinement of this Fit, I fell into ſome methods, and into much Diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the *Gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by ſuch as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* Cure. In the firſt place, from the day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I reſtrained my ſelf to ſo regular a Diet, as to eat Fleſh but once a day, and little at a time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate Draught, either of Water or Small Ale. I concluded to truſt to Abſtinence and Exerciſe, as I had ever reſolved, if I fell into this Diſeaſe; and if it continued, to confine my ſelf wholly to the Milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great Examples, and had a great Opinion even in long and inveterate *Gouts*. Beſides this refuge, I met with, in my Viſits and Converſation ariſing upon my illneſs, many Notions or Medicines very new to me, and Reflections that may be ſo perhaps to other Men. Old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* told me, he laugh

at the *Gout*, and though he had been ſeveral times attaqued, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he uſed but one Remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of Horſe-dung from a Stone-horſe of the *Hermelinne* Colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a Native White, with a ſort of a raw Noſe, and the ſame commonly about the Eyes. That when this was well boiled in Water, he ſet his Leg in a Pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his Leg immediately into a warm Bed, to continue the Perſpiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the Remedy be good, or the Circumſtances of Colour ſignifie any thing more, than to make more Myſtery, I know not; but I obſerved, that he ever had a Sett of ſuch *Hermelinne* Horſes in his Coach, which he told me was on purpoſe that he might never want this Remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, gave me a Receipt of the Salt

Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* Physician of the Emperors had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as Himself, and the last Year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: The use of this, I am apt to esteem, both from the quality given it of provoking Sweat extreamly, and of taking away all Sharpness from whatever you put it in; which must both be of good effect in the Cure of the *Gout*.

The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed last Summer before *Maestricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long subject to the *Gout*, and never used other Method or Remedy, than upon the very first Fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the Weather was, and as long as he was able to stand, and pressing still most upon the Foot that threatned him: when he came home he went to a warm Bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the Pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the same course, and was never laid up with it; and before his death

death recommended this Courſe to his Son, if he ſhould ever fall into that Accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *Eaſt-Indies*, told me in one part of them, where he had lived ſome time, the general Remedy of all that were ſubject to the *Gout*, was rubbing with Hands? and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that conſtantly every day, and relieve one another by turns till the Motion raiſed a violent Heat about the Joints where it was chiefly uſed, was never troubled much, or laid up by that Diſeaſe.

My youngeſt Brother told me he had a Keeper very ſubject to it, but that never laid him up, but he was ſtill walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the Fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one Inſtance, that poor and toiling Men have ſometimes the *Gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it, than his Keeper did, who yet he confeſt uſed to bring the Fits of *Gout* upon him, by Fits of Drinking, which no doubt is a re-

a Receipt that will hardly fail, if Men grow old in the Cuſtom.

Monſieur *Serinchamps* told me; a *Lorrain* Surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of theſe; which was by whipping the naked Part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over bliſtered; and that he had once perſuaded him to perform this Pennance in a ſharp Fit he had, and the Pain in his knee ſo violent, as helped him to endure this Remedy. He ſaid it was cruel, that all where he was whipt, grew ſo angry, and ſwell'd as well as bliſter'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that night. The next morning the Part was all as ſtiff as a Boot, and the Skin like Parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain *Oil* likewiſe of *Nettles* it paſt in two days, and the *Gout* too, without feeling any more pain that Fit.

All theſe things put together, with what a great Phyſician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *Gout* was a Companion that ought to be treated like an

Enemy

Enemy, and by no means like a Friend, and that grew troubleſome chiefly by good uſuage; and this was confirmed to me, by conſidering that it haunted uſually the Eaſie and the Rich, the Nice and the Lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little; That make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too; That take care to carry it preſently to Bed, and keep it ſafe and warm, and indeed lay up the *Gout* for two or three Months, while they give out, that the *Gout* lays up them. On t'other ſide, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, ſuch as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink Water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with Malt; that know no uſe of Wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if ſuch Men happen by their native conſtitutions to fall into the *Gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leiſure to be ſick; or they uſe it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced

forced by that to faſt more than before, and if it laſts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never known the very name of the *Gout*.

But to follow my experiment, I paſt that Summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the leaſt remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring, till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the ſame joint, but of my other foot; I had flattered my ſelf with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the buſineſs had been ended; This made me neglect my *Moxa* for two days, the pain not being violent, till at laſt my foot begun to ſwell, and I could ſet it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the laſt, and I walked at eaſe, as I had done the firſt time, and within ſix days after above a league without the leaſt return of any pain.

I continued well till this Spring when about the end of *March* feeling again

gain the ſame Pain, and in the ſame oint, but of the firſt Foot; and find-ng it grow violent, I immediately urnt it, and felt no more after the hird time; was never off my Legs, nor ept my Chamber a day. Upon both heſe laſt Experiments I omitted the pplication of Garlick, and contented y ſelf with a Plaiſter only of *Dia-lma* upon the place that was burnt, hich cruſted and healed in very few ays, and without any trouble. I have nce continu'd perfectly well to this reſent *June*; and with ſo much confi-ence of the Cure, that I have been ntent to trouble my ſelf ſome hours ith telling the Story, which, 'tis poſſi-e, may at one time or other be ought worth making publick, if I n further confirmed by more time d Experiments of my own, or of hers. And thereby I may not only tisfie Monſieur *Zulichem*, but my ſelf o, who ſhould be ſorry to omit any od I thought I could do to other en, though never ſo unknown.

But this Cure, I ſuppoſe cannot etend to deal with inveterate *Gouts*, own habitual by long and frequent returns,

returns, by diſpoſitions of the Stomach to convert even the beſt Nouriſhment into thoſe Humours, and the Veſſels to receive them. For ſuch Conſtitutions, by all I have diſcovered, or conſidered upon this Subject, the Remedies (if any) are to be propoſed either from a conſtant Courſe of the Milken Diet, continued at leaſt for a Year together; or elſe from ſome of thoſe Methods commonly uſed in the Cure of a worſe Diſeaſe (if at leaſt I may be ſo bold with one that is ſo much in vogue;) the uſual Exceptions to the firſt, are not only ſo long a conſtraint, but the weakneſs of Spirits whilſt it continues, and the danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be ſome Care neceſſary in this laſt point, upon ſo great a Change; but for the other, I have met with no Complaints among thoſe that have uſed it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done ſo, more, I believe, than any other Man, has told me he never found himſelf in ſo much vigour, as in the midſt of that Courſe. I have known ſo many great Examples of this Cure, and heard of its being ſo familiar in *Auſtria*, that I wonder

has gained no more Ground in other Places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loſs of Pain is generally thought to be purchaſed too dear by the loſs of Pleaſure.

For the other, I met with a Phyſician, whom I eſteemed a Man of truth, that told me of ſeveral great Cures of the *Gout*, by a courſe of *Guiacum*, and of two Patients of his own that had gone ſo far as to be fluxed for it, and with ſucceſs. And indeed there ſeems nothing ſo proper, as what pretends to change the whole Maſs of the Blood, or elſe a long courſe of violent perſpiration. But the miſchief is, That the *Gout* is commonly the Diſeaſe of Aged Men, who cannot go through with theſe ſtrong Remedies, which Young Men play with upon other occaſions; and the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, why theſe ways are ſo little practiſed, is becauſe it happens ſo ſeldom that Young Men have the *Gout*.

Let the Diſeaſe be new or old, and the Remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one ingredient of abſolute neceſſity in all Caſes: For whoever thinks of curing the *Gout* with-

without great Temperance, had better reſolve to endure it with patience: And I know not whether ſome deſperate degrees of Abſtinence would not have the ſame effect upon other Men, as they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Phyſicians, by long and cruel Pains of a Dropſical *Gout*, and deſpairing of any Cure, reſolved by degrees to ſtarve himſelf to Death, and went ſo far, that the Phyſicians found he had ended his Diſeaſe inſtead of his Life; and told him, That to be well, there would need nothing but only reſolve to live. His Anſwer was noble; That ſince dying was a thing to be done, and he was now ſo far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was ſaid and done, and could indeed have been ſo by none, but ſuch a Man as *Atticus*, who was ſingular in his Life, as well as his Death; and has been ever I confeſs, by me as much eſteemed in both, as any of thoſe that have made greater Figures upon the buſie Scene of their own times, and ſince in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps ſome ſuch Method

might

night ſucceed with others upon the deſigns to live, as they did with him upon thoſe to die; and though ſuch degrees may be too deſperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for thoſe that pretend the Cure of inveterate *Gouts*, or indeed of moſt other Diſeaſes to which Mankind is expoſed, rather by the viciouſneſs than by the frailty of their Natures. Temperance, that Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind; the beſt Guardian of Youth, and Support of old Age; The Precept of Reaſon, as well as Religion; and Phyſician of the Soul as well as the Body; The Tutelar Goddeſs of Health, and Univerſal Medicine of Life, that clears the Head, and cleanſes the Blood, that eaſes the Stomach, and purges the Bowels, that ſtrengthens the Nerves, enlightens the Eyes, and comforts the Heart. In a word, that ſecures and perfects Diſtion, and thereby avoids the Fumes and Winds to which we owe the Colick and the Spleen; thoſe Crudities and ſharp Humours that feed the *Scurvy* and the *Gout*, and thoſe ſlimy Dregs,

out of which the *Gravel* and *Stone* are formed within us. Diſeaſes by which we often condemn our ſelves to greater Torments and Miſeries of Life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflicted by the greateſt Tyrants upon the worſt of Men.

I do not allow the pretence of Temperance to all ſuch as are ſeldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for Men may loſe their Health, without loſing their Senſes, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their Lives: Nay, for ought I know, if a Man ſhould paſs the month in a College-diet, without exceſs or variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the laſt day give a looſe in them both, and ſo far till it comes to ſerve him for Phyſick rather than Food, and he utter his Stomach as well as his Heart; he may perhaps as to the meer conſiderations of Health, do much better than another that eats every day but as Men do generally in *England* who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is in Plenty and Luxury, with great variety of Meats, and

dozen Glaſſes of Wine at a Meal, ſtill ſpuring up Appetite when it would lie down of it ſelf; fluſht every day but never drunk; and with the help of dozing three Hours after Dinner, as ſober and wiſe as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon ſo neceſſary in all attempts and methods of Curing the *Gout*, is a regular and ſimple Diet, limited by every Mans experience of his own eaſie digeſtion, and thereby proportioning, as near, as well as can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our waſting Bodies. Nor can this be determined by meaſures and weights, or any general Leſſian Rules; but muſt vary with the vigour or decays of Age or of Health, and the uſe or diſuſe of Air, or of Exerciſe, with the changes of Appetite; and thereby what every Man may find or ſuſpect of the preſent ſtrength or weakneſs of digeſtion: And in caſe of Exceſſes, I take the *German* Proverbial Cure by a *Hair of the ſame Beaſt*, to be the worſt in the World; and the beſt to be that which is called the Monks Diet, to eat till you are ſick, and faſt till you are well again. In all courſes

courſes of the *Gout*, the moſt effectual point I take to be abſtinence from Wine, further than as a Cordial where faintneſs or want of Spirits require it: And the uſe of Water where the Stomach will bear it, as I believe moſt Mens will, and with great advantage of digeſtion, unleſs they are ſpoiled with long and conſtant uſe of Wines or other ſtrong drinks. In that caſe they muſt be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into Conſumptions, inſtead of recovering *Dropſies* or *Gouts*. But the Wines uſed by thoſe that feel or fear this Diſeaſe, or purſue the Cure, ſhould rather be *Spaniſh* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rheniſh*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bordeaux* or *Campagne*; and of the *Rheniſh*, the *Ringaw* and *Bleker*, of which at leaſt it may be ſaid that they do not ſo much harm as the others.

But I have known ſo great Cures, and ſo many, done by obſtinate reſolutions of drinking no Wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of Temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great

encreaſe

encreaſe of that Diſeaſe in *England* within theſe Twenty Years, may not have been occaſioned by the cuſtom of ſo much Wine introduced into our conſtant and common Tables: For this uſe may be more pernicious to Health, than that of Taverns and Debauches, according to the old Stile, which were but by Fits, and upon ſet or caſual Encounters. I have ſometimes thought that this Cuſtom of uſing Wine for our common drink, may alter in time the very Conſtitution of our Nation, I mean the native tempers of our Bodies and Minds, and cauſe a heat and ſharpneſs in our Humours, which is not natural to our Climate. Our having been denied it by Nature, is Argument enough that it was never intended us for common uſe; nor do I believe it was ſo in any other Countries, there being ſo ſmall a part of the World where it grows; and where it does, the uſe of it pure being ſo little practiſed, and in ſome Places defended by Cuſtoms or Laws. So that *Turks* have not known it, unleſs of late Years; and I have met with many *Spaniards* that never taſted it pure in their Lives; nor in the time when I was in *France*,

France, did I obſerve any I converſs'd with to drink it unmixt at meals. The true uſe of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to ſuch as drink it ſeldom; Or elſe what the Mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give ſtrong Drink to him that is ready to periſh, and Wine to thoſe that are heavy of Heart; let him drink and forget his Poverty, and remember his Miſery no more.* At leaſt it ought to be reſerv'd for the times and occaſions of feaſt and of joy, and be treated like a Miſtreſs rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our Wits to our Humours, or our Healths to our Pleaſure, or that of one ſenſe to thoſe of all the reſt, which I doubt it impairs. This Philoſophy I ſuppoſe may paſs with the Youngeſt and moſt Senſual Men, while they pretend to be reaſonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwiſe, the beſt way they can take, is to drink or to ſleep, and either of them will ſerve the turn.

FINIS.